



Carter to cities: Drop dead slowly

See page 3.



Photo by Ben Achtenberg

While Arthur Burns... Miller fiddles?	2	Mouse bites cat? Japan in an economic corner.	9
Diana Johnstone on the nuns They disappear in Argentina.	8	Wilfred Burchett speaks Interview with left journalist.	12

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Burns gives his blessing to G. William and Ariadna Miller.

Dr. Burns' Dream House

Like the International Monetary Fund, the Federal Reserve Board has been one of those institutions largely outside the public gaze that nevertheless makes decisions that intimately affect public life. The Fed has created unemployment; it has also stimulated economic recovery. It has imperiled foreign governments by its currency machinations. And it has humbled presidents and legislators.

No other institution has better typified the peculiar marriage of business and government in twentieth century America.

But the Fed may be at a crossroads in its history. Having become steadily more powerful and independent since its inception, the Fed now finds that its power and independence have become a public issue.

Jimmy Carter temporarily calmed the furor that had surrounded the Fed for the last six years by announcing on Dec. 28 that Arthur Burns would not be reappointed as Fed chairman and that he would be replaced by corporation president G. William Miller.

While Miller remains an unknown, Burns' departure is significant because he epitomized the power and independence that the Fed has accrued over the last 63 years.

Winning in practice.

Congress established the Federal Reserve System in 1913. In the debate that preceded it, the issue of business' relation with government played a prominent part.

The banking system set up after the Civil War had proven inadequate to the rapid growth of industry and agriculture. Without a central bank to fall back on for emergency loans, local banks had no way of withstanding the bankruns that a stock market drop or business failure might precipitate. After the Panic of 1907, many bankers became convinced that some kind of central banking system was needed.

There was much support for a single powerful central bank on the German or British model, but with banker and not government control over its operations. Such a plan could never have been passed by a Congress in which small business, farming, and regional interests had substantial clout. These interests feared Wall Street control of credit and preferred, if anything, national and state banking systems. The plan also could not have attained support from Progressive Democrats and Republicans who saw in government control the op-

portunity to create a more democratic capitalism.

The plan that emerged after numerous drafts was an attempt to appease these interests while retaining the essentials of what the big bankers wanted. The plan set up a system of regional Federal Reserve banks, presided over by a Washington-based Federal Reserve Board. Local national banks were to put a certain percentage of their funds on reserve in the regional Reserve Banks, from which they would be entitled to borrow money against commercial paper at a rate of interest called the "discount rate."

Two thirds of the regional directors were elected by their member banks, and one-third appointed by the Board at Washington. The Washington board of governors was appointed to ten-year terms by the President. The Secretary of the Treasury and Comptroller of the Currency were also to sit on the board.

On paper, all sides got something, but in practice the banks got what they wanted. The New York Reserve Bank was predominant not only over the other regional Reserve Banks but over the Board as well, and its banker-elected president Benjamin Strong became the real head of the quasi-decentralized system.

The war for independence.

This lingering decentralization was blamed for the banks' inability to prevent the stock market crash in 1929. Mariner Eccles, Franklin Roosevelt's appointee as Federal Reserve head, proposed a plan that would further centralize the banking system and place it more under government control.

The bankers' backed centralization, but not more government control. The upshot, in the Banking Acts of 1933 and 1935, was another compromise. The Washington board got the power to set discount rates and interest rate ceilings for the regional banks. And the government granted more independence to the Board.

Both the Treasury Secretary and the Comptroller were removed from the Board, and the terms of appointed governors were lengthened to 14 years so that they would outlive that of any administration. It was stipulated, however, that Board decisions on interest and discount rates would be made in consultation with the Treasury department.

Enter Milton Friedman.

The Banking Acts also institutionalized the Fed's new-found powers to affect the economy.

When the system was first established, no one conceived that the Fed would, or could, affect the day-to-day economy. Its function was to rationalize the banking system, to prevent panics and runs. But in 1923, the Fed discovered open market operations.

With idle reserves at the start of a recovery, the regional banks sought to earn income by buying up government securities at the prevailing rates of interest. It was discovered that by doing this the banks could pump money into the economy, as the proceeds from their purchase found their way into local bank vaults. With more money in their vaults, the banks would tend to expand their loans, encouraging business growth and home construction, increasing employment and, in some cases, causing prices to go up.

The Fed could also reverse the process by selling its government securities and pulling money out of the economy into its reserves. With money less available to the banks, interest rates would rise, and business investment and home construction would be discouraged.

The Banking Acts put open market operations under the control of a Federal Open Market Committee on which the seven governors plus five regional presidents sat. During the '30s, Eccles began to use open market operations to stimulate economic recovery.

After World War II, he wanted to use them to prevent rising prices. That precipitated the next battle in the

Fed's war for independence.

The Fed's Yorktown.

During World War II, the Fed had cooperated with the Treasury department in holding down the interest rates of government bonds needed to finance the war, with the Fed itself buying a large share of the bonds. But after the war, Chairman Eccles argued on behalf of the board that the bonds should be sold at their market value. Eccles believed that the effect of continued Fed purchases would be inflationary. President Truman and his Treasury Secretary John Snyder argued on the other hand that a lower interest rate would prevent the national debt from getting out of hand.

In 1948, Truman appointed a businessman Thomas McCabe to take Eccles place as chairman, but Eccles carried on the fight as a regular board member. In 1951, an agreement was finally reached. While the Fed would temporarily buy bonds at a lower rate, the bonds would publicly sell at market rates. The Fed's independence from the Treasury was affirmed.

The 1951 Accord was the culmination of the struggle that began after 1907. The Federal Reserve System that had emerged was a corporatist dream. It remained substantially in private hands, highly susceptible to corporate guidance, but largely out of the reach of small business and labor. Its public responsibilities were to regulate an economy that could no longer regulate itself.

Inducing recessions.

In the period after World War II, the Fed came to play a particular policy role as the representative of wider corporate interests. To protect its profit margins and prevent inflation, the corporations and their economic advisors sought to induce periodic mild recessions that would keep unemployment over the 4 percent mark and hold down wages and hence prices.

During the '50s, William McChesney Martin, who became Federal Reserve Chief after McCabe resigned in 1951, cooperated with the Eisenhower administration in inducing two recessions. As if to confirm the Fed's special role as the voice of corporate interests, liberal Democrats John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson reappointed Martin.

During the Vietnam war, Johnson persuaded Martin to relent from contractionist policies. When Nixon appointed Arthur Burns to succeed Martin in 1970, Burns returned with a vengeance to the program of the '50s. In 1974, Burns plunged America into its worst recession since the '30s.

But Burns' policies had the effect of dramatizing not only the power and independence of the Fed, but its critical policy role. If the Fed had reached the peak of its power with Burns, it was also true that it could now only go downward.

In response to Burns' policies, at least four different bills have been introduced in Congress limiting the Fed's independence and making it more accountable to Congress and the public. The most recent is the revised Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which stipulates that the Fed must work with the Executive branch to present Congress with a plan for reducing unemployment.

From the day he took office, Carter was under intense pressure from Congressional leaders and from his minority and labor contacts not to reappoint Burns. They demanded a chairman who would make reducing unemployment his priority and seek to coordinate the Fed's policies with the government's. Carter's appointee, G. William Miller, has said that he thinks it possible to achieve price stability while seeking actively to lower unemployment.

It is unclear what Miller will or can do. But it is unlikely that Miller or whoever succeeds him will ever be able to run things quite the same way that Arthur Burns or his predecessors did.

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lishers, Nick Rabkin, General Manager, Ellen Deirdre Murphy, Advertising/Business, Ed Starr, Promotion & Development, Mary Elaine Jans, Office.

BUREAUS

LOS ANGELES: Bob Gottlieb, David Talbot and David Lindorff, 437 28th Ave., Venice, CA 90291, (213) 931-9351.
SAN FRANCISCO: Chris Dorr, 140 Sanchez St., San Francisco, CA 94114, (415) 626-7897.
SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404) 861-1689.
NEW YORK: Dick Bucklin, George Carrano, 131 East 15th St., New York, NY 10003, (212) 673-7270, 865-7638.
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URBAN AMERICA

Little help for the cities

By T.D. Allman
Pacific News Service

Nearly a year after Jimmy Carter's inauguration, urban America is still waiting—with less and less patience—for the President to fulfill his campaign pledge of “a massive effort” to achieve the “revitalization of our cities.”

While the President has tended, with varying degrees of imagination and success, to the problems of energy, foreign policy and federal reorganization, he has so far failed even to adopt a national urban policy, let alone implement one.

“The fear is that Jimmy Carter's urban supporters are going to be cruelly disappointed by the man they elected to the White House,” says Melvin King, one of Boston's representatives in the Massachusetts legislature.

“A Republican president told New York City to drop dead,” adds Felix Rohatyn, senior partner of the prestigious Lazard Freres investment firm, and chairman of New York's Municipal Assistance Corporation. “Now a Democratic president is presiding over the funeral.”

The disenchantment with the President's urban leadership extends from small city councils through executive suites atop corporate skyscrapers into the halls of Congress. “I now have the feeling,” a senior congressional aide recently said, “that what our urban problems really are going to have to wait for is another president. Some people call it ineptness in the White House. It looks more and more like callousness to me.”

Even the Democratic leadership is disturbed. “The President is promising tax cuts at the very moment we need major funding,” comments Rep. Henry Reuss (D-Wis), chairman of the powerful House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs. “You can't solve urban problems by making the rich richer and the poor poorer.”

Urban votes—often those of poor or non-white inner-city residents—elected Jimmy Carter president by providing a narrow margin of victory in dozens of close state races. Why has the President so far failed to satisfy this key constituency?

Failure of understanding.

Close observers of the administration's failure so far to evolve a national urban strategy cite several major reasons. The most important is that many urban activists increasingly doubt that the President—with his rural, business and Southern background—really grasps the nature of the problem that cities and their disadvantaged citizens face.

“The President has an abstract commitment to helping cities,” one of Jimmy Carter's own domestic advisers in the White House recently observed. “But does he have any visceral understanding of the cities' needs? Can he relate to urban people in a human way? This remains to be proven.”

Others absolve the President and blame the White House staff itself and bad policy planning at the Cabinet level, notably in the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), for the failure to devise the creative new national urban policy the President has promised, but so far failed to deliver. Criticism in Washington centers on HUD secretary Patricia Harris and on the President's senior domestic policy adviser in the White House, Stuart Eizenstat.

All three factors recently converged in a traumatic session over urban policy in the White House. For months the President's Urban and Regional Policy Group—chaired by Secretary Harris—had been working on a series of comprehensive urban policy proposals. While Harris was charged with formulating policy proposals, Eizenstat was given the task of assur-

ing close liaison between the President and the various government departments preparing the policy report, which was called “Cities and People in Distress.”

As all participants in the policy process concede, the report itself now is in even greater distress than the cities and people it proposed to help. In the end, President Carter rejected the urban policy advice of his own advisers—and sent them back to the drawing boards to come up with a new set of proposals before March 15, when the President has promised at last to unveil his urban policy.

Following the disagreements at the White House, many administration urban specialists are dispirited, and the task of formulating an effective urban policy seems even more difficult than before.

Flawed program.

The proposed urban policy draft itself, most experts who have read it agree, was flawed in both structure and vision, while nonetheless containing many innovative proposals, ranging from an urban development bank to direct federal assistance for neighborhood revitalization programs.

What seems to have sealed the report's fate, however, was its price tag, which made it clear that effective urban solutions cannot come cheap. If all the policy proposals had been adopted, they would have cost an extra \$8-12 billion a year—and made any administration plans for a tax cut academic.

Voicing the general reaction in the White House, one Carter aide was reported to tell urban policy planners, “Don't tell me we'll spend more money all around and then we'll call it an urban policy.” Administration sources say the President has ordered the planners to limit themselves to \$2 billion in new funding proposals—a figure many advocates of a national urban policy dismiss as tokenism at best.

Following the confrontation at the White House, Secretary Harris is being described as a victim of presidential penuriousness by others. Eizenstat, for his part, clearly failed to prepare either the President or his urban advisers for the gap of at least \$6 billion separating their differing views on what an urban policy should cost—and therefore be.

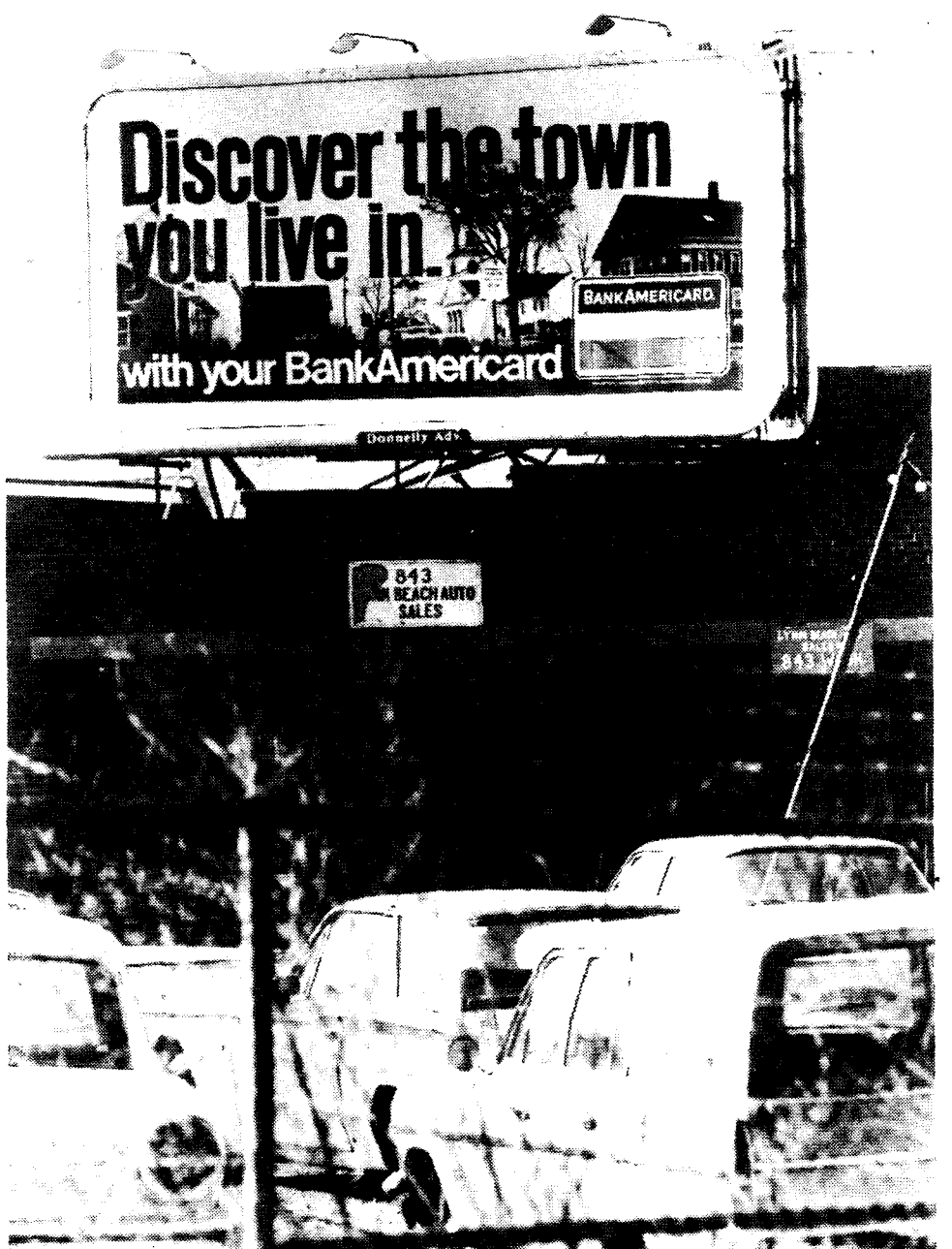
The gap is immense not only in financial terms, but philosophically too. With his faith in Zero Based Budgeting, managerial efficiency and balanced budgets, the President operates on the assumption, as one New England city official recently put it, “that you can solve problems by managing them better, not necessarily by spending more money on them.”

“Saying you can't solve problems by throwing money at them is like saying you can't put out fires by pouring water on them,” counters Paul Du Brul, co-author of *The Abuse of Power*, a study of the New York fiscal crisis.

Adds Felix Rohatyn, who as chairman of New York City's “Big MAC” has reduced, through spending cuts, the city's short-term indebtedness from \$6.2 billion to only \$170 million in two years: “We've cut away all the fat. From now on, we'll only balance the city budget and pay off debts by cutting away New York's muscles, bones and vital organs. We need money for urban development, but the administration hasn't even taken welfare off our backs.”

Defenders for Carter.

For the time being, at least, the President also has his defenders. They say Carter rejected the urban policy report not because he doesn't care about cities, but because he wants more imaginative solutions for them. They add that the present \$2 billion limit on additional funding is



Ben Achtenberg

“I have a feeling,” a senior congressional aide says, “that what our urban problems really are going to have to wait for is another president.”

there to provide discipline in fiscal planning, and predict the ultimate policy will be much more generous.

“The President wants a forward-looking urban policy that makes cities part of the solution, not the problem,” says Nicholas R. Carbone, majority leader of the Hartford City Council. “I think the President was right to ask for a better urban policy, and that it's up to all of us to show him the direction our cities can go. Between now and March 15 we will be separating the urban pros from the urban amateurs.”

At least until then, however, Jimmy Carter will be in an odd position for an activist president—a leader who has rejected a policy, but propounded none; a

leader who proposes to spend less while city problems deepen; a president with an ethic of administrative reform who so far has failed to propose even the federalization of welfare.

After so many lost months of paper-shuffling and disputes within the administration, President Carter's March policy statement may be his last chance not just to propose national solutions for the urban crisis, but to prove there is not a leadership crisis too.

T.D. Allman, head of PNS' city task force of writers and scholars, compiled this special year-end report on America's urban crisis following a four-month series of interviews with key urban leaders.

Cities need money

Mayors all over the country agree there will be no solution to the urban problems unless at least three major changes occur.

First, state and federal government must assume responsibilities for programs like welfare that municipal governments in the U.S. must bear—alone among all advanced industrial countries.

Second, state and federal fiscal relations must be reformed at least to the extent that cities with shrinking tax bases, largely unemployed populations and growing demands on their services stop having to subsidize state and federal governments by exporting more tax revenues out of the city than they get back in federal and state grants.

Finally, state and federal governments must provide the same investment incen-

tives—and outright capital infusions—to revive cities that for the past 30 years have gone to the Sunbelt and the suburbs.

“If we had to pick up 25 percent of the welfare bill New York City does,” comments Boston's longtime mayor, Kevin White, “we'd be broke too. It's as simple as that. Boston pays 22 percent of all Massachusetts state revenues and gets back four percent of the development budget. Cities can't go on subsidizing the suburbs forever.”

According to David Smith, director of the Technical Development Corporation, “Half the urban problem would be solved if state and federal governments stopped sucking money, jobs and investment out of cities. The other half will only be solved when they start pumping money, jobs and investment back in.”

—T.D.A.

LABOR

An activist at the top and bottom



While UAW regional director, Paul Schrade was an active supporter of efforts to organize farmworkers.

By Sam Kushner

LOS ANGELES—Paul Schrade is one of the more unusual people in the labor movement. Nationally known, he has, over the past 30 years, earned a reputation for activism, persistence and advanced thinking.

Schrade knows the labor movement from both the top and bottom. He is at home with rank-and-filers, in and out of unions, but he has also moved in more rarified atmospheres. For four years he was administrative assistant to the late United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther, and for ten years he was the union's West Coast regional director.

Schrade started at North American Aviation, now Rockwell International, as a stock clerk in November 1947. The UAW was then weak in the plant, having lost a bitter strike in 1941 after federal troops intervened. Schrade's department was especially poorly represented on the union's membership list.

Schrade joined the union and in short order became a shop steward, a committeeman, local (887) executive board member and editor of the newspaper, *The Propeller*. By 1951 the workers had elected him local union president, and in 1953 he led a bitter and successful 53-day strike.

In 1957 Schrade moved to the union's

Undaunted by his defeat for a sixth term as regional director, Paul Schrade returned to the shop where he had begun.

international headquarters in Detroit, eventually becoming Reuther's administrative assistant. Then in 1962 he ran for and won the regional directorship for the West Coast.

While regional director, Schrade was heavily involved in the civil rights movement, the campaign to organize farm workers, and the anti-war and "Dump [President] Johnson" movements. When Robert Kennedy was assassinated after the California primary in 1968, Schrade was wounded by one of the bullets.

But in 1972, due, he says, to maneuvering in the union hierarchy, Schrade was defeated for his sixth two-year term as regional director. Undaunted, he returned to Rockwell International, to the shop where he had started.

He began a campaign to win the right of workers facing discharge or disciplinary action to stay on the job while management charges are arbitrated. The worker ought not to be punished, he says, until a grievance is settled and guilt determined.

It was not a new issue for Schrade. While regional director he had put the proposition before the UAW's executive board in 1970. Despite opposition from Leonard Woodcock, later to become UAW president, the idea was adopted. It was never implemented in the union's bargaining program, however.

Schrade is still carrying on the battle as a rank and file union member and as a member of the executive committee of the American Civil Liberties Union of South-

ern California. The ACLU is now considering legal challenges to end what Schrade sees as a violation of workers' rights.

Paul Schrade, ironically, has become a case in point. In September, just 20 days before he had completed 30 years of seniority at the aerospace firm, he was fired. He was charged with parking his car in a lot, one-third full, that was reserved for management personnel.

Although he admits that "this particular time they got me" (on the parking violation), Schrade is suspicious of the combination of circumstances that preceded his firing. On Labor Day the militant aerospace worker, now 52, became a member of the New American Movement with a public announcement over Pacifica radio station KPFA. "There may have been at least an indirect connection" between the discharge and his joining NAM, he says.

But Schrade was also under attack from local union officials, long-time opponents, for a variety of reasons. He was accused, for instance, of authoring an article in a left-wing publication distributed at the plant that included criticism of UAW's bargaining position in negotiations with Rockwell. Even his lunchbox became an issue with some of the local leaders. They contended that the lunchbox, purchased by Schrade while on a trade unionists' tour of China, had a Communist slogan on it. Schrade had it translated and found that it was only a trade mark.

Schrade has had trouble with the local ever since he returned to the plant. Local leaders had been instrumental in the "coup" that had ousted Schrade from the regional directorship. He recalls that his first warning notice at Rockwell, in 1973, came as "a result of a Local 887 committeeman reporting me to [management's] labor relations!"

There followed a series of disputes with the union and management. Disciplinary notices began to pile up; he was laid off for a while. Finally, after Schrade threatened to file suit against the union, it agreed to take his case to arbitration. The final ruling cleared Schrade of all past infractions and demerits and awarded him three weeks back pay.

Schrade is once again concerned about union support in his battle to regain his job. He has talked with UAW president Douglas Fraser, whom he had supported for the union's presidency some years ago against Leonard Woodcock, and has been assured that his case will be processed vigorously. In the meantime, he waits.

Sam Kushner is author of *Long Road to Delano*.

ENERGY

Who'll finance Alaskan gas line

By Nellie Scott

WASHINGTON—In the cold reaches of Alaska's arctic north, oil is not the only treasure locked beneath the tundra. Gas from the Sadlerochit reservoir on the North Slope promises billions of dollars in profits for companies like Exxon, Atlantic-Richfield, and BP/Sohio.

Before they can collect these profits, however, the gas must be shipped to markets in the lower 48 states. How high those profits will be depends in part on who finances the transportation system.

The House and Senate, following the lead of the Carter administration, approved in early November an application from the Alcan Pipeline Company to construct a 3,600-mile pipeline across Canada—with legs into California and Illinois—to carry the North Slope gas.

The project would be the most expensive undertaking of its kind. The final tab for the estimated 20 trillion cubic feet of

recoverable gas in the Alaskan reservoir—about a year's supply at current rates of consumption—could reach \$40 billion.

Neither the gas producers—primarily Exxon, Arco and Sohio—nor Wall Street's bankers seem anxious to finance the project. There is considerable speculation that public financing will be necessary to get the project underway.

Rep. Clarence J. Brown (R-Ohio) warned in House debate on the proposal, "All of you should know that by voting for this resolution, you may be faced later with a vote on whether or not to guarantee the financing of this project."

An aide to one of Alaska's senators expressed the fears of investigators that construction costs and gas prices might outstrip the price of alternative sources of energy, making the Alaskan gas unsaleable: "We may find out two years down the road that this is going to be the world's most expensive gas and then where will

the investors be?"

Indeed, there are many variables in the Alcan proposal that could make the gas very expensive. If the House version of Carter's energy program is enacted, gas from Alaska would be classified as "old gas under a new contract," and Alcan would have to pay a wellhead price of \$1.45 per thousand cubic feet. (The price would be higher if the Senate gets its way in negotiations with the House on a final energy bill.)

Producers claim that Alaska's weather will drive the cost of preparing the gas for the pipeline as high as 90 cents per thousand cubic feet, and they want to add this on top of the \$1.45 well-head price. (In the rest of the U.S. the regulated price covers modest processing costs.)

Pipeline charges, according to administration figures, will add another \$1.24 per thousand cubic feet to the wellhead price, but this figure could easily be too low.

The administration assumes that at least 2.4 billion cubic feet of gas will go through the pipeline each day. But Alaskan state officials and the gas producers maintain that the pipeline's daily volume will not go over two billion cubic feet. This would mean the costs of transportation would be higher than the administration allows.

Though little stressed so far, the power of Canadian provinces to tax the gas as it flows through their territory could also add to the final cost.

Once these and all other charges are added up, the delivered cost of gas could easily exceed \$4.00 per thousand cubic feet. Mexican gas will probably be available before 1983 at \$3.00 or less.

In anticipation of high costs Alcan has proposed to the Congress and the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, charged with regulating the gas industry, that gas companies be allowed to average

Continued on page 5.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Business wins on tax reform

By Alan Wolfe

Rebounding from its defensiveness during the Vietnam war, big business has made a remarkable political comeback in Washington. Aggressive, dominating and arrogant, large corporations appear determined to write legislation in their interest, whatever the consequences.

And with little or no opposition manifesting itself at the national level to this campaign, business has managed to get its way in Carter's first year.

The most drastic examples of the resurgence of corporate domination over the policy process are energy legislation and Carter's plan for tax "reform." In the former, business is making its stand within Congress; in the latter, its impact has been felt even before the proposals leave the White House.

But in both cases the sheer catering to the needs of large corporations is extraordinary, even given Washington's general pandering to this kind of influence.

Surely the clearest lesson to be drawn from the debates over Carter's energy proposals is that the oil companies have managed to add the U.S. Senate to their list of corporate acquisitions.

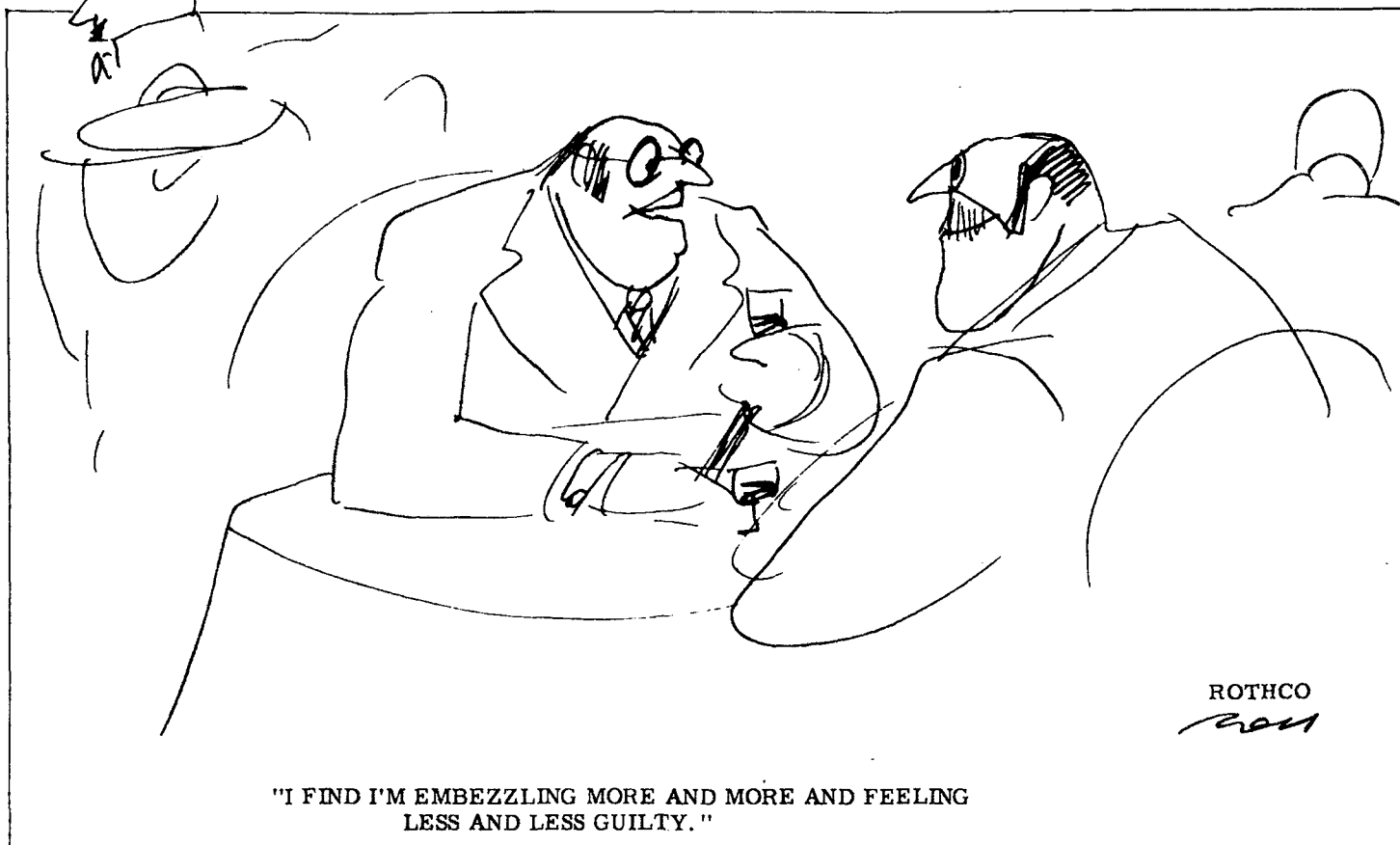
It was only recently that Sen. Jackson (D-Wash), no radical, felt he could make political hay while attacking oil company executives on prime time television. Now the tables have turned.

On the issue of natural gas pricing, the energy conglomerates are putting on a campaign the likes of which hasn't been seen since the Eisenhower years. Simply refusing to compromise, they are holding out for a policy that will maximize their profits from natural gas.

Their position is clear: We control the production of energy. Take it away from us completely or give us everything we want.

Since the former cannot happen under present conditions, the latter probably will. On this issue the oil companies are not even bothering with what is often called the "give and take" of parliamentary life. It is all take and no give. They have learned that blackmail is not illegal if conducted as part of capitalist political life and are proceeding accordingly.

But the debates of natural gas pricing are nothing compared to the tax proposals that President Carter announced on Dec. 20. In this case it is clear that Carter is unwilling to risk even the minimal fight he is putting up over energy pricing. Business couldn't have asked for more than Carter is planning to give.



Under Keynesian theory, deficit spending—that is, intentionally creating deficits by spending more than the government takes in—can be brought about in two ways. Spending itself can be increased while holding taxes constant, or taxes can be reduced while holding spending constant.

Keynes himself and many of his more progressive disciples preferred the former alternative because it meant that not only would the economy be stimulated but such spending could also be used to bring about income redistribution and therefore stabilize the society as well as the economy.

But in 1962 when President Kennedy had to make this choice, his pragmatic advisers convinced him that only a tax cut could be gotten through Congress. Walter Heller, Kennedy's chief advocate of what was then called the "new" economics, proposed such a cut in what John Kenneth Galbraith called at the time the "most Republican speech since McKinley."

This tack is the one that has just been chosen by Carter. Only this time there was no debate between spending advocates and tax cut enthusiasts. Just the latter option was considered, which means that foes of income redistribution and egalitarian social policy won this issue even before it was sent off to Congress.

That in itself is a victory for big business. But when the details of the "package" are examined, the bias in the proposals becomes overpowering.

Carter's plans include the ritual reduction in individual income taxes in order to win popular support for the measure. But after that, the need to win business "confidence" takes over.

The corporate tax rate will be reduced from 48 to 44 percent over time, for one thing. In addition, Carter will ask Congress to make the currently existing 10 percent investment tax credit permanent, a symbol that big business has sought for some time.

Even more important than these concessions to business are the items not proposed by the president. Much talk had been heard early in the administration about taxing capital gains as income, which is what they are, but this idea has been dropped.

The largely symbolic attack on the three-martini lunch, which could have helped focus the public's mind on the inequities of the tax system, has been toned down. Under the present plan, corporations will be able to deduct only half of their entertainment expenses, but this is sure to be raised by a Congress sympathetic to conducting important business in French restaurants.

Codes and sign language.

All this boils down to a series of codes and sign language. Carter is giving business a green light to go about its business as it sees fit. No longer will the administration try to represent the general interest of the consumer while balancing off its needs to win support among big business. Rather the needs of big business have been deemed far more important than the desires of consumers.

But, ironically, even giving business exactly what it wants may not win its "confidence." Business is never confident. Should Carter turn over the entire federal treasury to large corporations for their disposal, they would still find something about which to complain.

Carter's plan is a sure-fire gimmick to lose the confidence of everyone. If he had studied Kennedy's experience with the business "community" more closely, he would have learned that, even with all his concessions to them, they will betray him the first chance they get.

How has it come to pass that big business has reached this extraordinary pinnacle of influence after being held in large public disrespect just a few years past? Three events converged around 1973 to produce this rebound.

First, the so-called energy crisis had a double-edged nature not fully appreciated at the time. On the one hand, the profit-

taking revealed that corporations could not be trusted with the public good, and a vast number of Americans came to an anti-capitalist position, however vaguely expressed.

But at the same time, those events also revealed that in a capitalist society business holds all the key decisions. Something like the energy crisis provides a tremendous opportunity for building an anti-corporate consensus, but if the opportunity is lost, then business strength will increase. If we can put this one over on you, business seemed to be saying, we can get away with anything.

Second, the U.S. is still feeling the shock of the Nixon-Ford approaches to public policy. For eight years an administration saw its express purpose to turn the state over to large corporations. In those years it was as if the President was forcing business to take an aggressive stance that business did not even want.

Now, with the Democrats in power, the results have paid off. Well trained by Republican presidents, businessmen have lost their modesty. They remember, shades of the 1920s, what it means to be in control. Like Samuel Gompers, they have translated their desires into one word: more.

Finally, business tried out its new-found strength in the last year of the Ford administration on the people of New York City and discovered that not even the suspension of democracy would arouse much of a protest if handled correctly.

One cannot overestimate what the New York fiscal crisis means for social planning in America. It was widely predicted by radicals in 1975 that the ease of corporate capitalism's victory in the New York City events would show up in a national campaign to roll back social equality even further. The Carter tax proposals are the fruits of that lesson.

In short, the last four years of Republican rule created a situation that demanded of a new President some confrontation with business' new aggressiveness. No Democrat could come into power after these events and expect to appease business sentiment through suggestions for cooperation. Business had learned that the more outrageous the demands, the more seriously they would be considered.

Carter had only one choice. It was incumbent on him to remind big business that they exist at the mercy of the public and not the other way around. Carter refused. So long as he continues to do so, business knows that it can dominate politics in Washington, and it has shown no hesitation in continuing to do so.

Alan Wolfe writes regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

Alaskan gas

Continued from page 4.

the price of Alaskan gas with that of other gas selling at lower rates. In effect, they are asking gas consumers to subsidize the Alaskan costs.

Until the price issue is settled and the wellhead rate established, Alcan will not even try to enter into any financing deals.

In approving the project the Carter administration assumed that the gas-producing companies and the state of Alaska would help out, either with direct loans or guarantees. The producers, for instance, could guarantee to deliver specific amounts of gas, promises backed by the oil companies' assets.

The producers oppose such a guarantee, however. They want the flexibility to decrease their gas production if they decide it is in their best interest.

Wall Street and the oil companies would prefer to see the federal government take the risks in the Alcan project, either by offering a federal guarantee of the financing or by allowing the cost of the pipeline project to be added to consumers' gas bills. If the project succeeds, the investors, creditors and the oil and gas companies would reap the substantial benefits. If the project failed for any rea-

son—bad management, for example—then taxpayers would swallow the losses.

Although federal guarantees of private, profit-making endeavors have grown more common in recent years, there is vocal congressional opposition to their use in the Alcan situation. Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind) said, "To ask consumers to assume this risk does not seem warranted, especially when other parties with a strong business interest and the opportunity to profit from the project stand by and refuse to assume any of the burden."

The Senate Energy committee vowed to monitor the project closely, and cautioned that "financial 'gimmicks' involving consumer risk-taking via the federal treasury or special tariffs would not be tolerated."

While the Carter administration has so far resisted major federal involvement, it has already offered to put some of the burden of expected cost increases onto the pipeline's customers, proposing that cost overruns be shared by consumers by means of a "variable" rate of return that would have the consumer pay a greater share if the builders finished on time and a lesser share if they did not.

Nellie Scott writes frequently on energy issues for IN THESE TIMES.

Unequal Development in



Southern Exposure

A city of schizoid contradictions

By Elliott Currie
Pacific News Service

RALEIGH, N.C.—Just north of this city in eastern North Carolina, along U.S. 1, rows of sleek, modern factories stand where there were once pine woods and tobacco fields. The names—Westinghouse, Burlington, Mallinckrodt—suggest the industrial transformation that has changed the face of this part of the country.

North Carolina has been heralded as a leader of the "New South," part of a booming "sunbelt"—extending from here all the way to California—a region whose sudden prosperity has made it the most dynamic part of the American economy.

And on the surface, cities like Raleigh and nearby Durham that were once sleepy, squalid and eternally segregated now appear prosperous, dynamic and smoothly integrated. The effects of two decades of civil rights activity and a decade of economic growth are clearly visible.

But that picture is at best only a half-truth, for the Old South's new development has been uneven and distorted, overlaid on a traditional structure of social and economic relations that has changed little despite surface signs of progress.

Schizoid contradictions.

Raleigh, the technical and administrative center of North Carolina's economical boom, is a city of almost schizoid contradictions, where signs of progress and development are uneasily juxtaposed with signs of traditional poverty and inertia.

Liberty Street, the heart of state government offices, is being transformed almost overnight into North Carolina's Brasilia. New gleaming buildings sprout from the gouged red-gold dirt, testimony to the tremendous growth of state and local government here in the past decade. Government employment has increased by nearly one-third in the South since in the last seven years.

But inside, the buildings are chaotic and unfinished, with unnumbered offices, corridors leading nowhere and rooms stacked with unopened packing boxes.

"The Raleigh area," proudly notes a state economic development official, "has the highest proportion of PhDs of any city in the U.S." But the new high-technology industries that employ them have had little effect on the lives of the state's reservoir of low-skilled and poor people.

Nor do North Carolina's more traditional industries provide a decent living for the state's long impoverished black and white working class.

In the black slums ringing downtown Raleigh, the sagging frame houses carry the same distinctive gray color of neglect they've worn for decades. Weeds sprout in the backyards, the young and old collect in silent knots on street corners, and angry drunks wander aimlessly in the streets.

This year, North Carolina lost the dubious distinction—to Mississippi—of paying the lowest industrial wages in the nation. But it still ranks 49th in wage levels, and the gap between its wages and the national average is growing rapidly. In 1971, North Carolina's industrial workers earned \$21 per week less than the national norm. Today, they earn \$55 a week less.

Not surprisingly, North Carolina is the least unionized state in the nation, and its industries have been extremely adept at keeping unions out.

Recently, a northern-based glass company sought to move a 300-job glass plant to Roxboro, northwest of Raleigh. Local officials, however, refused to sanction the move because the firm was unionized.

Yet North Carolina has twice the proportion of families living in poverty as Illinois, Ohio or Pennsylvania. Its death rate from early infancy diseases—always a powerful index of social conditions—

is more than a fourth higher than the national average, while its ratio of doctors to population is only 75 percent of the nationwide mean.

Race relations.

Perhaps nowhere is this paradox of the New South—obvious progress contrasted with underlying stagnation—more striking than in race relations.

In the big, sprawling shopping centers on the peripheries of Raleigh and Durham, many blacks now work at sales jobs in the stores; ten years ago the staffs were virtually all white.

The same is true in the rapidly expanding public sector—in local and state government and health care—where a new stratum of middle and lower-level black civil servants has emerged, dressing and talking much like their white counterparts, eating in the same restaurants and working in the same modern, air-conditioned offices.

Access to public services has improved even more quickly for blacks. Officially, integration of schools and public facilities has been a fact for years here, and it occurred with hardly a murmur of protest from the white community.

But the speedy and peaceful progress of formal integration masks a deeper and more significant pattern of informal re-segregation. Swimming in a municipal pool in an older, affluent, white neighborhood in Durham, my daughter observed, "There aren't many other white kids here, are there?" Indeed, there weren't any other white kids; and that illustrates the emerging pattern of racial use of public facilities.

The 20 or 30 black youngsters in the pool had achieved a kind of access undreamed of in the '50s, but the whites have simply pulled out. They now swim, shop and go to school in private institutions, leaving blacks the sole consumers of public services.

Until recently, few blacks were seen in

downtown Durham unless they had jobs that entitled them to be there—porters, cleaners, menial laborers. The big stores were downtown, but blacks did most of their shopping in their own neighborhoods.

Downtown used to be a white enclave. Today it is close to being a black enclave. As integration proceeded, most whites shifted their shopping to the huge, outlying shopping centers. Many whites seldom go downtown at all now, unless they work in one of the few big businesses still left there, mainly the central banks.

Durham's public schools are now 80 percent black though blacks comprise less than a third of the city's population. Integration has largely meant whites buying out of the public school system, giving the schools to the blacks, and sending their own children to private "academies."

Uneven growth.

A 1976 report by the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration offers powerful evidence of the uneven growth of the southern economy. Between 1970 and 1975, non-agricultural employment increased in the South by 16.7 percent, while such employment rose in the northern industrial states by only 1.3 percent. Yet the growth in employment did not translate into a better living standard for Southerners. In 1975, for example, North Carolina's per capita income was 18 percent below the national average, while New York's was 13 percent above it.

And in 1977, the Senate Appropriations Committee reported that despite the increase in jobs and industries, per capita income in the South remained the lowest in the nation. In fact, between 1970 and 1975, the South's per capita income grew at a slower rate than per capita income in the North. North Carolina's income increased 13.5 percent during that period, while New York's jumped

Continued on next page.

the New South

Continued from previous page.

17.5 percent and Pennsylvania's 20.2 percent.

This happened at a time when southern economic progress and northern economic decline was a seriously debated national issue.

Even these statistics overstate the economic welfare of the southern population, however, for they mask the fact that a much higher proportion of the South's personal income goes to the rich, while a much lower share goes to the poor.

Economic growth in North Carolina has had a limited impact for two main reasons: growth has brought a decreasing number of new jobs in proportion to capital investment, and most of the jobs it has brought are in low-paying industries.

The state's unemployment rate is 6 percent, just below the national average, but high enough to have been considered critical in more optimistic times.

One reason for this is that North Carolina's economy has begun to shift away from labor-intensive industries—like textiles and furniture—to high-technology industries like chemicals, that bring far fewer jobs.

The economic future of North Carolina and the entire South now seems clouded, because recent figures show that new investments create a much smaller number of jobs than they did in years past, and as the jobs are created, population tends to rise by the same amount as the number of jobs created.

■ *Elliott Currie has taught social science at Yale and the University of California at Berkeley.*



Underlying the battle between Virginia and North Carolina over water is the separate futures of the two regions and the direction of future growth.

Key to future growth in water

By Frank Adams

ROANOKE RAPIDS, N.C.—By the year 2000, the demand for water in America is expected to exceed the supply in all but a few states. Water may become what medical care is already—a privilege for the rich rather than a right.

The shortage of usable water is nothing new in the Southwest, especially in New Mexico. Across the continent, however, in the misproclaimed "New South," the problem is just surfacing, and was dramatized last November at an Army Corps of Engineers hearing here.

Five cities and three counties in Southeastern Virginia, including Norfolk, headquarters of the world's largest deep-water naval port, face severe water shortages by the year 1980.

The present situation is not much better. A six-month mandatory water rationing program was only ended November 15 after the worst rain storms in recent memory filled municipal reservoirs.

These governmental bodies, through the Southeastern Virginia Planning District Commission, asked the Corps of Engineers to develop proposals to relieve the probable long-run shortages.

Originally, the Corps came up with 12 alternatives, but the list was quickly narrowed to four. Two of the plans would require North Carolina's cooperation. One would draw water from the Roanoke River just below Roanoke Rapids; a second would take water from the Chowan River near Winston.

The Corps' third plan would increase withdrawal from the Blackwater and Nottoway rivers in Virginia. Both are tributaries of the Chowan. Lastly, the Corps suggested damming the Appomattox River in Virginia.

The only formal support for any of the alternatives has come from the Amelia County (Va.) Board of Supervisors. On Oct. 17, that body endorsed the plan to dam the Appomattox, thus creating a long-range supply for South Hampton Roads.

But as they were wording their resolve in Amelia, dozens of similar county-level governmental units across the state line were adopting tough-worded resolves opposing any Virginian dipping into North Carolina waters. This deluge of resolutions broke upon the Corps' long-planned hearing here Nov. 21.

Gov. Jim Hunt sent a message by proxy declaring his opposition to the Corps' plans for North Carolina. Senators Jesse Helms and Robert Morgan also sent messages outlining their determination to fight congressional authorizations. To round out the display of state and congressional unity, Representatives Walter Jones and L.H. Fountain, whose districts would be directly affected, turned up in person.

Hunt, Helms, Morgan, Jones and Fountain hardly have an environmentalist impulse among them, yet each cited the need to preserve the delicate ecological balance on the rivers as one of their reasons for opposing the plans.

One opponent, S.W. Oakley, mayor of Weldon, even cited divine purpose:

"We admit we took it from the Indians, but we don't want to see our Virginia neighbors take it from us. God, in His infinite wisdom, planned the course of the Roanoke River to begin in the mountains of Virginia, but to flow through Weldon to the coastal waters of North Carolina. If He had wanted it to go to Norfolk, He would have had so directed its flow from the beginning."

North Carolina officials expressed shock at learning the city of Norfolk already pumped up to 48 million gallons daily from the Chowan's headwaters. Two pumping stations were built during World War II by the Federal Works Agency to supply fresh water to Navy ships tied up in Norfolk. The city bought the system and all water rights in 1946 for \$600,000, and has been operating the pumps since.

While Hunt expressed dismay at

learning about this dipping into North Carolina waters, he issued no demand for repayment, or for the water rights to be returned. He did pledge, however, to use every lawful means "to block withdrawals from the Roanoke and Chowan rivers and from the Chowan's headwaters." He further urged every property owner along the North Carolina tributaries to bring legal action to prevent implementation of any of the Corps' suggestions.

Pumping groundwater.

Nor did the governor or any other elected official warn of legal action if groundwater from the Chowan River Basin, which begins in Virginia, were to be pumped. North Carolina would have absolutely no control over that option, but the consequences could be devastating.

As the groundwater supply is diminished, the water table is lowered, increasing the likelihood of salt water intrusion into the underground supplies. Already, the giant Union-Camp paper and lumber mill in Franklin, Va., is reportedly lowering the water table at rates in excess of 18 feet annually. Homeowners as far away from the mill as 20 miles recently have been forced to drive home-use wells deeper into the soil to find water.

And Nestle Co. wants to build a \$100 million coffee manufacturing plant in nearby Suffolk on land the company has owned since 1955. Nestle would pump 50 million gallons daily from the Chowan River Basin's underground supply for its manufacturing needs.

Who, or what, prompted this outpouring of political opposition from North Carolina's elected officialdom is a mystery. Hardly a person on the streets in the region was aware of the Corps' proposals. But obviously more than the frequently light-hearted rivalry between neighboring states was at play.

No environmentalist organization expressed alarm over the delicate balance

of the Chowan River's ecological system, despite the fact that the Sierra Club has more members in its North and South Carolina chapter than any other Southern branch, and county commissioners who have reluctantly endorsed resolutions favoring motherhood quickly adopted strongly worded resolves opposing the Corps' options.

Rep. Fountain hinted at the underlying reason. He told the hearing: "Transferring water from the Roanoke and Chowan River Basins would, in effect, be robbing Peter to pay Paul—robbing an area needing industry and jobs for the sake of possible future development in an already well-developed industrial and commercial area."

Northeastern North Carolina, through which the contested waters flow, is one of the poorest regions in America. By any index—health care, infant mortality, median income levels—all are dismally low in a state with, for instance, the second lowest average wage scale in the nation. The region has long been a political fiefdom for the very politicians actually present at the hearing or there by proxy.

Daily between 2,200 and 3,000 Tar Heel workers from the region drive into Virginia's Tidewater area over narrow, heaving roads for high-paying, secure jobs they sought but couldn't find in their own state. But already there are signs that industrial development now concentrated in Tidewater may soon spill over the border into North Carolina.

That industry, and the usual accompaniment of housing growth, will need and demand water. When they come, North Carolina's political leaders want to insure that they control the water. What we may have seen in Roanoke Rapids was the first public steps taken in North Carolina to insure that control.

■ *Frank Adams is a cobbler/writer in Gatesville, N.C., and is associated with the Institute for Southern Studies.*

IN THE WORLD

ARGENTINA

The case of the missing nuns

By Diana Johnstone

Sister Alicia Domon and Sister Leonie Duquet, both Frenchwomen who had lived for many years in Argentina, were among that devoted minority of Catholic clergy who in recent years decided to live not only for the poor but with them, sharing their work and cares.

Such saintly clergy have frequently been martyred by the military "defenders of Western Christian civilization" currently ruling Argentina and neighboring countries. Thus when the two nuns were carted off, one on Dec. 8 and the other on Dec. 10, by groups of armed men, nobody doubted that they were in the hands of one of the ultra-right parapolice groups, such as the notorious "Triple A," that are in the habit of grabbing people from their homes or off the streets at any hour of the day or night. Some victims of such arrests turn up later as "bullet-ridden bodies," some are later "found" in jail, while others are never heard of again.

In addition to identifying with the poor, Sister Alicia had apparently further sinned against Christian civilization, military style, by sympathizing with the grief-stricken mothers of some of those who have never been heard of since. She was reportedly seized at gun-point along with a score of these women, gallantly dubbed "madwomen" by Gen. Videla's modern knights, who had gathered at the Church of the Holy Cross in downtown Buenos Aires. The English-language *Buenos Aires Herald*, the only Argentine newspaper that dared report the mass abduction, openly drew the obvious conclusion that only security forces could have pulled off such an operation without being bothered by the rest of the security forces that occupy the capital.

The only thing that made the disappearance of Sister Alicia and Sister Leonie any different from thousands of similar cases was that this time, the French government decided to lodge a strong formal protest. On Dec. 13, the French embassy in Buenos Aires delivered a note to Argentine authorities charging that plainclothes policemen had abducted the two women and holding the Argentine military government responsible for their safety.

Auto executive killed.

Videla's regime, which could teach Pinochet's a thing or two, is used to a higher degree of international tolerance. It seems not to have taken kindly to this reminder of its responsibility to keep its rampaging police from slaughtering nuns.

On Dec. 16, just after the Argentine ambassador in Paris was called into the French Foreign Ministry, the Argentine government issued a statement that blathered on, in the typical abstract style of Latin American military dictatorships, about "subversion, locked in its nihilism" being responsible for kidnapping the nuns, but provided no facts.

The same day, Andre Gasparoux, technical director of the Argentine branch of the French Peugeot automobile firm, was shot dead in Buenos Aires. The government blamed the Montoneros. Both the French community in Argentina, and the large community of exiled Argentines in France, tended to suspect that Gasparoux was bumped off not by Montoneros but by the same security forces that abducted the nuns.

It is true that the auto industry in Argentina has long been the scene of fierce labor disputes that frequently lead to murder. Despite the junta's ban on all strikes and union activities, auto workers have continued to show their fighting capacity by all sorts of slowdowns, from

Continued on page 20.



Argentine President Jorge Videla (left) with two air force generals.

Rodolfo Walsh's last open letter

By Cedric Belfrage

Last March 24 the Argentine military junta headed by Gen. Jorge Videla celebrated the first anniversary of its seizure of power. On that day Rodolfo Walsh, one of Argentina's top writers, circulated an open letter to Videla recalling what had happened during the year to citizens suspected of democratic or left views. The score: 15,000 "disappeared," 10,000 jailed and tortured, 4,000 known dead, tens of thousands exiled.

On March 25 two military armored cars appeared at the house where Walsh was, in Buenos Aires province; they destroyed the house with gunfire and took Walsh away. In the ensuing nine months the junta has been futilely bombarded with inquiries and protests. Today hope that Walsh remains alive has been virtually abandoned.

Such is the degeneration of Argentina under what may be the worst of all the South American terror regimes, with its rising note of Nazi-style antisemitism. Argentine writers, traditionally uninhibited, don't write such things now unless they have taken the precaution of emigrating first. The most famous of them, Jorge Luis Borges, remains in Buenos Aires as a jewel in the junta's bloody crown, praising it for saving the country from chaos.

Walsh, on the other hand—once something of a Borges disciple—has in recent years been a fighter with his pen against repressive government actions. Since he felt compelled to write his open letter, and promptly "disappeared," the terror has steadily intensified. Hence the possibility that he will ever be heard again, on this or any other subject, is remote.

Institutionalized torture.

In the weekly *Proceso*, Mexican intellectual Jose Emilio Pacheco thus sums up what Walsh wrote to Videla:

"The barracks of Argentina have been

turned into concentration and extermination camps, practicing limitless torture and summary execution. To cite one example among thousands, the Peronist leader Jorge Lizaso was skinned alive. Against the military secrets of these institutions, no legal resources can prevail. Lawyers daring to defend political prisoners disappear along with their clients. In the hands of the new torturer-hangmen, the rack and other traditional instruments of inhumanity are supplemented with surgical and pharmacological techniques.

"For the junta, extermination of guerrillas is the end that justifies all the means. By this road (wrote Walsh) they have arrived at institutionalized torture, almost metaphysical in the sense that its object—to get information—disappears in the sick spirit of those who practice it, giving place to the desire to triturate human substance, to annihilate it and wring from it the dignity that the torturers and their chiefs already lost.

"They have tried to present as 'military actions' what were quite clearly and simply massacres. The great majority of those killed are union leaders, intellectuals, relatives of guerrilleros, oppositionists who never took up arms, or mere suspects. The military government says that the guerrilleros' casualties in one year have been 600 dead and 15 wounded. This only shows that those taken prisoner are systematically exterminated. 'Shot while trying to escape' is common currency, as is the appearance of corpses on the banks of the Rio Plata with clear and atrocious signs of torture."

Wages frozen, prices soar.

No one believes the junta when they blame "right extremist groups" for these crimes. What they call the 'Triple A' is comprised today of the three armed services—army, navy, air force. The junta is no impartial equilibrium between 'vio-

lence from two opposite poles,' no arbitration between 'two terrorisms': it is itself the source of Terror, it has lost all control and can only babble the discourse of death.

"These tortures and murders—and many more—are not all of the suffering now imposed on the Argentine people, who are subjected to planned poverty: 40 percent cut in workers' wages; need to work 18 hours instead of six as before, to fill the 'family food basket'; freezing of wages while prices soar interminably; impossibility of any sort of trade union protest, infantile mortality of 30 percent in Great Buenos Aires, a metropolitan area converted by such policies into a ten million population slum; whole districts without water while the Plata and subterranean springs are poisoned by the refuse of the regime's industries; annual inflation, 400 percent; external debt, \$600 per inhabitant; gross national product down 3 percent.

"And at the same time a \$1.8 billion defense-security budget for 1977, equivalent to half the country's exports; military pay raised 120 percent, and 5,200 new jobs created in the armed forces... The only beneficiaries of these policies dictated by the International Monetary Fund are the old landlord oligarchy, the new speculating oligarchy and the transnationals.

"Walsh ended by saying that even if and when the last guerrillero was liquidated, the internal war would continue in other forms; for the causes of the Argentine people's resistance do not disappear, but are only aggravated by the memory of the murders and atrocities.

"If the letter cost him his life, Rodolfo Walsh cannot have been altogether surprised."

Cedric Belfrage is a journalist in Cuernavaca, Mexico, who writes on Latin America for IN THESE TIMES.

JAPAN/U.S.

Economic war clouds over the Pacific

By William Burr

Japan Inc. is once again causing sleepless nights for American policy-makers concerned with preserving America's place in the world and also keeping the world capitalist system intact.

American business groups and the AFL-CIO are pressuring Congress to curb Japan's huge export surplus by protectionist legislation. But because Japan depends on exports to both industrialized and Third World markets to acquire the income to finance its crucial raw material and energy import bill, it has fought American pressure. Failure to reach a commercial accord with Japan could lead to trade war, political antagonisms and the deepening of the global recession.

During December, officials from both the U.S. and the Common Market told the Japanese government that if it did not take immediate steps to reduce its \$16 billion dollar trade surplus, Western industrial capitalist nations would be forced to retaliate against Japanese exports. With the exception of certain specialty steels and certain types of electronic equipment, Americans and European rulers are not telling the Japanese to sharply curb their exports. They recognize the strategic importance of exports to Japan's economic health. But they are advising Japan to sharply increase its industrial and agricultural imports in order to provide opportunities and employment for unemployed production capacity and labor-power in the West and in the Third World.

Growing mistrust

From the standpoint of American and European rulers, Japan is not behaving as a responsible member of the industrial capitalist community of nations. European and American leaders accept a "reasonable" level of Japanese competition, but they fear that Japan is reverting to the "beggar thy neighbor" commercial policies which helped trigger World War II. Carter administration officials see the Japanese policy of restricting industrial imports and expanding industrial exports as a way to maintain employment at the expense of Japan's biggest trading partners and the Third World. Only 20 percent of Japan's imports are of manufactured goods compared with 53 percent for the U.S. and 66 percent for West Germany.

The Carter administration also wants Japan to expand its manufactured imports from the Third World so that the industrial sectors in those countries can help earn the income needed to pay the mounting debts held by American, European and Japanese banks. Inability of Third World nations to service their debts could generate a world-wide banking panic and depress world capitalism.

The controversy over Japan's trade surplus has already caused some degree of mistrust among top political leaders. Last spring Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda promised the U.S. that Japan's global trade and payments surplus would not exceed \$700 million. But the total surplus on current account is estimated at \$6 billion for 1977. Japan's aggregate balance with other industrial nations includes a near \$10 billion surplus with the U.S. and a several billion dollar surplus with the Common Market. Japan used much of that income to pay for huge energy imports.

Officials in the Carter administration do not care to insinuate that Fukuda deliberately misled Carter but, according to one policy-maker, there is a feeling in Washington that Japan has set up "a pattern of protracted unfairness, which has to be corrected if we are to avoid extremely awkward political consequences."

Fukuda was probably sincere in his promise but there were two basic reasons why he could not produce short-term results. One, the Japanese system of import protection is so integral to the economy that rapid changes would be very



Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda.

One Japanese leader warned before the visit to the U.S., "Economic war leads inevitably to real war... a cornered mouse might fight back and bite the cat."

difficult. Japan's tariff structure is an important barrier against manufactured and many agricultural imports, but no less important is the system of import quotas largely designed to protect agriculture. Regulations on the quality of goods, complicated customs procedures, a nationalistic bias towards locally-produced goods, and restrictions on foreign investment in Japan all tend to reduce imports. Financial experts in the U.S. and Europe have accused the Japanese of consciously undervaluing the yen in order to raise the yen-price of imported goods and increase the competitive advantage of exports.

The other basic factor in forestalling remedial action by the Japanese government is the bleak economic outlook. The economy is plagued by industrial overcapacity created during the investment boom that preceded the 1973 energy crisis. The strength of the export sector is crucial to preventing more serious economic problems. The seriousness of the surplus capital problem and its long duration has led Japanese economic planners to conclude that industry must be restructured and its profitability restored through mergers and scrapping excess capacity. The Japanese system of planning has in the past

been able to deal with restructuring when it was confined to one industrial sector or the other. However, Japan's economic problems are so pervasive and the global economic picture is so uncertain that the desired reform program is too comprehensive to be immediately forthcoming.

Nearly insulting.

Fukuda's inability to keep his promise and growing domestic pressures led American policy-makers to begin "turning the screws" on Japan. As the export surplus mounted during the summer of 1977, the U.S. Treasury began to intervene in world financial markets to force the revaluation of the yen. Secretary of Treasury W. Michael Blumenthal hoped that revaluation would depress the export industries and make it necessary for the Japanese government to reflate (raise the level of economic activity through increased expenditure), thus increasing effective demand and broadening the market for imports.

American pressure forced an 18 percent appreciation of the yen during 1977, which led to real profit declines in important industries. But, in general, it has not caused a basic decrease in the volume of exports

because the high debt structure of Japanese corporations forces many firms to maintain sales even if at a low rate of profit.

In October, the World Bank advised Japan to reflate in order to soak up more imports and reduce the trade surplus. But only unilateral action by the American government forced the Japanese government to begin a policy review. A mid-November special trade mission warned the Fukuda regime of drastic protectionist legislation unless it took "extraordinary measures." Emphasizing the strength of protectionist sentiment in and out of Congress, the delegation presented the economic and commercial demands of the American government. These included unilateral tariff cuts, elimination of import quotas, and the streamlining of customs procedures. A key demand was reflation of the economy. The U.S. wants Japan to set a target growth rate of 8 percent for fiscal year 1978. Such a target is expected to provide sufficient demand to measurably increase the level of imports.

During mid-December, Japanese officials came to Washington. While they agreed to a growth target of 7 percent, American officials are skeptical about the decision since Japan failed to meet the 1977 growth target. American negotiators considered the concessions on tariffs and quotas "nearly insulting" and predicted that they would only result in a \$735 million increase in American exports. The quota concessions, for example, left American cattlemen, citrus growers and auto manufacturers—always eager to crack the Japanese market—very dissatisfied.

Under-Secretary of State Richard N. Cooper, the chief American negotiator, told the Japanese that they must reduce their trade surplus by 40 percent during 1978. The Japanese negotiator, Minister for External Economic Affairs, Nabuhide Ushiba, replied that they would not adopt a policy of deliberately running chronic trade deficits. It is clear, however, that the final word has not come from the Japanese. They see the December talks as only one round in a protracted series of negotiations, and will announce additional concessions to special trade negotiator Robert Strauss in his visit to Japan planned for Jan. 12.

Crucial test.

Whether the Fukuda government can meet the demands of American and European capitalism is questionable. The agricultural lobby is a key constituency of the ruling Liberal Democratic party and is a fervent advocate of the quotas. Another political risk faced by Fukuda is that fuller concessions on non-tariff barriers may involve the sacrifice of Japan's substantial small business sector which employs two-thirds of the labor force.

But any effort to discipline Japan through enacting a discriminatory commercial policy could have dangerous implications for internal Japanese politics. Some Japanese leaders are complaining about American pushiness, and commercial war could lead to a resurgence of Japanese nationalism.

Carter and Congress have to heed protectionist sentiments. Carter also has to balance the claims of domestic interests with the need to maintain global capitalist stability and peaceful relations with Japan, a key member of the system. Given the present structure of global military power, inter-imperialist war is not a short-term possibility but economic conflict could create deep political antagonisms between the U.S. and Japan. The Carter administration's response to Japan will be a crucial test of its ability to manage the current crisis of world capitalism.

William Burr is a graduate student in history at Northern Illinois University. His field of research is American foreign economic policy.

West Bank Arabs split on Sadat

By Geoffrey Aronson

In the wake of frantic diplomatic negotiations conducted since Egyptian President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem last month, politicians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip are struggling to maintain the integrity of their positions on the political future of territories under Israeli rule. The Egyptian-Israeli rapprochement presents the possibility that President Sadat's agreement with Prime Minister Begin will not include Palestinian statehood or a role for the PLO. The people of the West Bank and Gaza want peace. But the question on their minds is what kind of peace.

There have been no mass demonstrations of support for or rejection of the "Sadat Initiative" in the occupied territories. The Israeli military government does its best to circumscribe popular expressions of public opinion, especially if they expect rejectionist sentiments to dominate. But the explanation for the current popular quiescence has deeper roots. While citizens of Tel Aviv, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus and Tripoli have crossed the political Rubicon, either in support of or in opposition to Sadat, Palestinians, the perennial victims of inter-Arab and Arab/Israeli disputes, are withholding judgment until a more concrete determination of the future can be made.

This is not meant to imply that those at the core of the Middle East debate are mere spectators. A solid majority of West Bank mayors and civic organizations have reaffirmed their full support for a Palestinian state and the primacy of the PLO as the spokesman for the Palestinian people. "We declare," noted the statement issued Dec. 3, that "Palestinian rights affirmed by various resolutions of the UN are not subject to bargaining. In the forefront of these is the legitimate right to self-determination in its land in complete freedom. We reject any form of trusteeship regardless of its source and any solution which violates this people's independence and the independence of its will."

Subsequent meetings at Birzeit University and in East Jerusalem—the former convened without the knowledge of the military government, the latter attended by pro-PLO mayors in defiance of a military directive—restated this position.

Mayors identified with the PLO, most notably Karim Khalaf of Ramallah, Muhammad Muhim of Halhul, and Bassam al Shaka' of Nablus, fear that Sadat may be prepared to "sell out" the Palestinians in exchange for a settlement with Israel. They recognize the possibility of an Egyptian/Israeli condominium on the territories, but there is an underlying belief that Egypt will never be able to reconcile itself to Israeli demands as outlined in Prime Minister Begin's latest proposal for "autonomy and self rule" for the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Begin's plan is reminiscent of proposals put forward by the former Labor government as early as 1967 and most recently in 1976. Known as "civil administration," these proposals, like Begin's, provided for self rule within the parameters of Israeli military hegemony and continued Israeli settlement. West Bank leaders of all political persuasions have rejected outright this latest proposal as they did the others, labelling it "a legalization of the Israeli occupation." A fundamental strategic Arab demand—the return of all territories captured by Israel in 1967—is one that Israel, in spite of all the tactical momentum generated by the Egyptian/Israeli rapprochement, will



Photos by Geoffrey Aronson

"The Egyptians are mistaken if they think people are behind Sadat," Ramallah's mayor Karim Khalaf (above) said. "Sadat is playing the game of the Israelis and Americans against Palestinian rights."

not grant.

Nevertheless, Palestinians are ill at ease with the current situation. The apparent contradictions one hears when speaking with them reflects the complexity of the issues and the ambiguity of current Egyptian policy. "Sadat is not looking out for the interests of the Palestinians," said Jericho's mayor Abd-al-aziz Sawayti in a recent interview. "But I don't think he will approve Begin's plan. How can we approve an Israeli military presence in our area?"

"The Egyptians are mistaken if they think people [in the territories] are behind Sadat," said mayor Karim Khalaf, the most outspoken of Sadat's critics. "Sadat is playing the game of the Israelis and Americans against Palestinian rights. We mayors of the National Bloc (a coalition of pro-PLO mayors), were elected in 1976 under the slogan 'No to Local Administration, Yes to the National Bloc.' We've lost everything but we have the will to continue to work for a just settlement."

"If Sadat and Begin do agree and we don't like it, we'll make trouble," declared Sawayti. "If you have a gun and I have nothing, what can I do? We will use stones, our hands to fight such a settlement."

In fact, during the last two weeks, there have been two political assassinations on the West Bank. The second victim was a member of the delegation that visited Sadat in Cairo recently. A spokesman for the PLO in Beirut has claimed responsibility for the latest assassination.

The traditional leadership of the West Bank—notables, businessmen and landowners, many of whom once occupied important positions in the Jordanian government and whose political future rests on a reassertion of Jordanian authority in the area—has adopted a low profile since the Sadat visit. Led by Anwar Nusseibeh, former Jordanian Minister of Defense, Hikmet al-Masri, former Speak-

er of the Jordanian Parliament, and Anwar Khatib, former Governor of Jerusalem, they have expressed hope for Sadat's efforts couched in terms vague enough to enable them to insist on the primacy of the PLO.

Privately, these people believe that Sadat has moved too hastily in recent weeks. "The stakes are too high to be playing the game as he is," said one. These men are playing the favorite game of politicians in the territories—one they have mastered as pawns in the turbulent history of inter-Arab politics and Israeli occupation. They, like their Jordanian patron Hussein, are withholding their endorsement of Sadat until it is clear that he has wrested some tangible concessions from Begin. In the meantime, they are content to reserve their opinion and to refrain from making enemies of Sadat, the PLO, or the Israelis.

There are those, however, whose political ambition has led them to commit themselves openly in opposition to the PLO. Described by all segments of politically articulate Palestinians as "collaborators and quislings," men such as Hussein a-Shayuki, a Ramallah attorney and Bourhan Ja'abbari, son of the former mayor of Hebron, have recently gained the limelight as enthusiastic supporters of Sadat's policy reorientation. Most recently these two men headed a delegation of 160 to Cairo. The members of the delegation were men of humble means—villagers and clerks—without any history of political involvement. Many influential personages, such as Hikmet al-Masri, Anwar Khatib and Fayid Barakat, president of the East Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce, refused to go.

"In my opinion," said Barakat, "a delegation would be proper after results were achieved. Then we would go to express our appreciation for Sadat's efforts in our behalf. Now is not the right time." It is uncertain who provided the



Hikmet al-Masri, former speaker of Jordan's parliament.

funds for such a trip, but rumors persist—denied by Israeli officials—that Israel was the moving force behind the trip. "These men (members of the delegation) have been pressured into attending by their superiors. They don't even represent their wives," quipped the mayor of Ramallah.

Nonetheless, it is interesting to observe Israeli attempts to promote such patently unrepresentative people as messengers of pro-Sadat sentiment.

"At this time, anyone supporting Sadat, supports Israel, *vis a vis* the question of Palestinian representation," noted Shimon Mendes, the spokesman for the West Bank military government.

"There is no doubt that the silent majority of people [in the territories] support the delegation," said a source in the Israeli Foreign Ministry involved in the formulation of Israeli policy in the territories. "There is no center of decision-making power in the West Bank. This political vacuum enables all kinds of people to emerge as representatives of popular opinion. No one is saying that people like Ja'abbari, Shayuhi, Doudin (a former Jordanian Minister who has criticized the PLO), are the true representatives of people in the Territories, but neither are those extremists who have been elected on a pro-PLO platform."

"The military government has the means to develop an alternative political leadership, with people like [Anwar] Khatib or Al-Shawwa [mayor of Gaza]. However, we have not made the decision to do it."

"I don't remember any decision in the past 40 years concerning the future of Palestinians that was taken by the people themselves."

If the Egyptians and the Israelis have their way, it appears the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza never will. ■

Geoffrey Aronson is a journalist in Jerusalem.

On the spot



For 40 years left journalist Wilfred Burchett has been in the right place at the right time.

By Doyle Niemann

In every generation a few journalists stand out as exceptional figures. Wilfred Burchett is such a journalist. For almost 40 years Burchett has managed to be the right person in the right place at the right time, applying his critical sensibilities and progressive orientation to some of the most significant happenings of the last four decades—from Hitler's campaign against the Jews to the rise of revolutionary movements in Asia and Africa.

In the late '30s Burchett, an Australian by nationality, was working as a tourist clerk in a London firm specializing in Jewish immigration to Palestine.

In 1938 Hitler escalated his campaign against the Jews in Germany and all contact between the firm and Germany ceased. It had a number of clients who already had visas to leave, including Burchett's brother-in-law.

Burchett volunteered to go to Germany and find out what had happened and see if there was anything he could do to help. As a non-Jew and an Australian citizen he would have some protection from German harassment.

Burchett discovered that there was, at that time, a complicated system to get people out of the concentration camps. He managed to get his brother-in-law and "quite a few other people" out over a period of about four months, leaving just in time to avoid the Gestapo.

Burchett returned to Australia with the family in July 1939. He discovered to his shock that Robert Menzies, then premier of the province of Victoria and shortly to become Prime Minister of Australia, was "saying what a marvelous man Hitler was, and how all this stuff of war was completely incorrect."

"I was furious," he says, "and so I started writing letters to the newspapers, saying that I had seen a very different sort of picture in Germany." No papers printed his letters, however. "Who on earth would publish the word [of a tourist clerk] against that of the premier of the state of Victoria."

"But then the war broke out and some of the editors remembered this chap who had been bombarding them

with letters." There followed a series of writing assignments. "Editors started asking me to write more because they could always bill me as the 'last Australian to leave Berlin, the man who saw it as it really was'."

Convinced that the Japanese had aggressive ambitions in the Pacific, Burchett—after spending some time in New Caledonia, about 800 miles off the coast of Australia—went to China.

Hired by the *Daily Express* as a war correspondent, Burchett spent the war in the China-Burma-India theater and in the Pacific, where he covered many of the American island-hopping operations.

Burchett was the first correspondent to go into Hiroshima after the dropping of the atomic bomb. His early reports of radiation sickness there were vehemently denied by the American government at the time.

After the war it was Europe, Berlin, and the development of the Cold War in Germany. "And there again I was in trouble with my editors because, whatever one wanted to say about Stalin and Molotov at that time, they were not responsible for what happened in Germany. That was absolutely wished for and something that the U.S. maneuvered to bring about."

Just after the Korean war began, Burchett returned to Australia to campaign in defense of civil liberties there. In January 1951 he left for China to "have a look at the new government" and to gather material for a book.

While he was there it was announced that there would be negotiations for an armistice in Korea. Burchett got himself accredited to the Chinese delegation and covered the talks. It was an education in American negotiating methods that was to serve him well, he says, when he covered the Paris negotiations to end the war in Vietnam some 15 years later.

During the Korean war Burchett's reports first began appearing in the New York-based *National Guardian* (now simply the *Guardian*), where they have appeared regularly ever since.

Burchett had his greatest impact reporting on Vietnam. His arrival in March 1954, enroute to Geneva

talks on Korea and Indochina, coincided with the beginning of the battle of Dienbienphu. Although not at Dienbienphu, Burchett watched the battle's development from Ho Chi Minh's headquarters, 100 miles away.

After a short stint at Geneva, Burchett returned to Vietnam, going into Hanoi with the liberation army and witnessing the takeover from the French. Thereafter he traveled through the country—to Saigon a couple of times, and also to Cambodia and Laos. "I was interested in seeing what they did postwar, covering until the elections to unify the country provided for in the Geneva agreements. Then I thought I would go off and see what was happening elsewhere in the world."

The election never came, and Burchett stayed in Vietnam. In 1955 he lost his passport and the Australian government refused to issue him a new one. That refusal was to last for 17 years, until the election of the Labor government in 1972, one of whose first acts was to reissue him a passport.

In the meantime, the Vietnamese issued him travel papers, which only a few countries would accept. (Later he was to get a Cuban passport.)

In 1957 Burchett moved to Moscow, convinced that the major issues of the period were only going to be settled between Moscow and Washington, "between the Great Powers, the Superpowers—we didn't have to use that term at the time." "The only place that I could go to of those two without a passport was Moscow."

But from about 1961 Burchett made regular trips back to Indochina, "keeping an eye on developments there." Then, in 1965 he moved to Cambodia to better follow the war, making regular trips into Vietnam, always on the side of the liberation forces.

In 1968 Burchett was off to Paris to cover the peace talks. That has been his base ever since, although he has returned to Indochina for two major visits.

In the last several years Burchett has also extensively reported on the revolution in Portugal and the development of liberation movements in Africa, making numerous trips to both areas. Just prior to his present U.S. speaking tour he completed a series on the roots of Eurocommunism, a subject he says he plans to study in more detail over the next year.

Burchett is the author of innumerable books, the most recent of which is *Grasshoppers & Elephants: Why Vietnam Fell*. (ITT, Aug. 31, 1977.)

This reporter interviewed Wilfred Burchett on his visit to Chicago, Nov. 30, 1977. Excerpts from that interview follow.

Vietnam

Vietnam is obviously the area where you have had the most contemporary presence. You recently returned from a visit there—is the reunification process going smoothly?

Yes, smoothly and much faster than the leadership had hoped.

The cadres in the South were braced for a long, long campaign—trying to explain to people about the socialist road and the necessity for reunification and so on and so forth. But all of a sudden everybody said "what are we waiting for?"

The political cadres were quite deflated. Based on what they had hoped for from the Paris talks—a three-way thing of the Saigon regime, the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the Third Force as a bridge between the two—they had expected a long political battle. All of a sudden, one pillar of the bridge was no longer there.

What has happened to the Third Force?

They are all integrated with the administration.

There have been claims that they were dupes, that they have been pushed out and have no position.

No, this is not true. What is true is that the CIA, of course, had its second line and its third and fourth line. And they infiltrated quite a few people into the Third Force. Some of those, a handful of them, were taken off to be reeducated. But all the genuine Third Force people are there in ministerial jobs, as heads of departments. I met a lot of them on my last trip.

I was there between July and September 1975 and I must say a lot of the intellectuals in Saigon were walking around with wrinkled brows. They didn't see their place—people who had been school teachers or doctors or that sort of thing. No real decisions or pronouncements had been made. The schools were closed down while they revised the educational program. They talked to me about how worried they were, how they had no idea of what was going to happen to them, what the line was going to be.

But this last time those same people were terribly relaxed. Practically the whole of the professors and teachers—96, 97 percent—were back in their old jobs, in the same schools, the same universities.



There again, of course, the local CIA had infiltrated, but the people knew, the other teachers knew who the agents were. So some of those were taken off and given some reeducation. The same in the public health service.

But by and large it was not coercive?

No, no.

Cambodia is a different case?

Yes, very different—by all we know about what is happening anyway. I can't talk about that because I haven't been there and I don't know any details.

China

Another big question mark these days is China. We've had a series of articles in our paper by David Milton, who was in China during the Cultural Revolution, in which he takes a very critical attitude. He says that what is happening in China is not just the reversing of minor policies of Mao, but a fundamental questioning of his basic orientation and goals in domestic policy. Do you think that is a justified concern?

I don't know, I'd have to read the articles. But it is clear that every time a dynasty comes to an end, sometimes toward the end of the reign of the dynasty, it gets a bit heavy.

I don't think any changes will be made in the basic infrastructure, in the communes and the factories. The workers and the farmers and peasants have been accustomed too long now to running things to a great degree, with a great degree of autonomy. To take that away—that would be something.

I think there will be changes on two points. One is the criteria for education—Mao's idea that ideology should be the only criteria, that people could come straight in from the factory without any sort of preliminary work.

I think they'll tighten up the criteria. They need quality. If they are going to make a short cut, as they want to, they have to have quality in science and technique. So it seems to me that they are probably going to have to change that. It's been the subject of contention for a

long, long time.

The other thing is that they will probably introduce into industry what has been in agriculture from the beginning, and that is the use of material incentives. In agriculture it has always existed. The farm was always supposed to provide a certain quota to the state at a fixed price, but if they produced more than that quota then they got a 30 percent bonus.

If that is not a material incentive, I don't know what is. It seems it was inevitable that that would have to be introduced into industry.

You think though that efforts to centralize authority—Milton, for instance, mentions something equivalent to the tractor stations in the Soviet experience—you think that efforts like that will meet with resistance?

I think that it would meet with great resentment because this would interfere with a system of autonomy that has been very, very great.

And I quite agree that this has been a basic tenet of Mao and one of the big differences between his idea of doing things and Liu Shao Chi's idea of doing things. I personally would be very unhappy if that sort of thing happened. If they are doing that then I am sure this will be very bad. I think that it really would be resisted.

Dealing just with the communes, every member of a commune is a member of the armed forces. They have their own armed forces and these are with quite sophisticated equipment. Normally a dynasty is toppled with one peasant revolt; never has a dynasty survived two peasant revolts. I think those people know their Chinese history.

The other aspect of China that is controversial, and has been for some time, is its foreign policy. Why do you think they made the shift in their foreign policy?

I only have a very primitive explanation: their dissension with the Soviet Union just got to a point where they decided to oppose everything that the Soviet Union did or anybody that supported the Soviet Union, and to support anything that opposed the Soviet Union. I can't see any other basis for the various things they have done.

Why are they at such odds with the Soviet Union? Has what the Soviets done been such as to warrant it?

To warrant a great deal of indignation and anger, yes. There are things that the Chinese have not even published.

Kruschev sort of sold Mao down the river at the Camp David meeting with Eisenhower. There's no question about that. And then early the next year, in 1960, the Soviet Union put in a bill for everything that they had supplied during the Korean war, a tremendous bill, and demanded payment in gold, foreign currency or food stuffs. This was the period when China had just started this cycle of three years of natural catastrophes. And then they pulled out all their technicians, blueprints, left things unfinished all over the place.

But you don't think that all of that is enough to justify the central point of their foreign policy?

Absolutely. You can't make movements, national liberation movements of other countries, pay for the unfriendly actions of the Soviet Union. You can't possibly hold them responsible. And that is really mysterious because the Chinese revolutionaries are normally such logical, calm and reasonable people.

Is there any sense in which it works in their interest, where they have gained from the strategy?

I can't see it. Their policy towards Chile, for instance, and later towards Angola: they've lost out tremendously.

When China came into the United Nations, and had won the right to be there, there was absolute euphoria among the Third World countries—"finally, now we have a champion in the Security Council." Well, to a certain extent they still do, but they are rather disillusioned with their champions.

Their charge towards the Soviet Union is that it is a "social imperialist" country, and is now even worse than the U.S. Do you think there is any justification for that in terms of the actions of the Soviet Union?

I think there is room for plenty of criticism of many aspects of Soviet foreign policy. But these are inappropriate and terribly exaggerated. In general, I hate terms and labels of those sort because they almost always tend to be inaccurate.

Portugal

You've written a good deal about Portugal since the coup there, haven't you?

At first I didn't take much notice of that Portuguese coup—an internal coup, some military people replacing the government. I had written Portugal off as a non-place, the oldest citadel of fascism.

The coup took place on a Thursday and then on a Saturday I listened to the radio when they broadcast the program of the Armed Forces Movement, their essential aims in carrying out the coup. When I heard them say decolonization, independence to the colonies, I rushed and got my atlas. It became clear that if they meant what they said, it was of fundamental importance for the whole of southern Africa.

Then the next morning the radio said that Lisbon airport was opening up and I went to Lisbon—primarily to check up with the captains and see if they really meant it. I was most interested in the colonial question.

I interviewed most of the main individuals and leaders—(Vasco Goncalves, Otelo de Carvalho, Melo Auntes).

Mario Soares, the Socialist party leader?

I did see Soares. I felt like kicking him in the stomach straight away. Soares had absolutely nothing to do with the coup. He just came in later.

I remember that your reports from Portugal were all very optimistic—the strength of the left, the socialist program, the power of the Communist party, and so on. What happened?

What happened was simply that the Socialists turned against the Communist party—it was not the other way around, which is how it's usually presented—and turned against the Armed Forces Movement.

There were many, many progressive people within the leadership of the Armed Forces Movement, but Soares maneuvered from the beginning against them. Unfortunately, he was supported by many ultra-leftist groups who said that they [the Armed Forces Movement] were a lot of fascists and militarists.

You see, there was the absolute, definite possibility of a unique type of united front between the Armed Forces Movement, the Communists and the Socialists. This was well within the grounds of responsibility. The right could not show their heads. They had been smashed, beaten and discredited.

Some people on the left have said that, as you say, there was this opportunity for social transformation or revolution and yet it didn't happen. They blame the left, particularly the Communist party—it didn't push hard enough, it didn't arm the people, it didn't carry through to revolution. From what you know, do you think this is true? Was it a possibility or would it have been foolhardy?

If they had armed the people, that would have been

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Democratic ideals and socialist realism

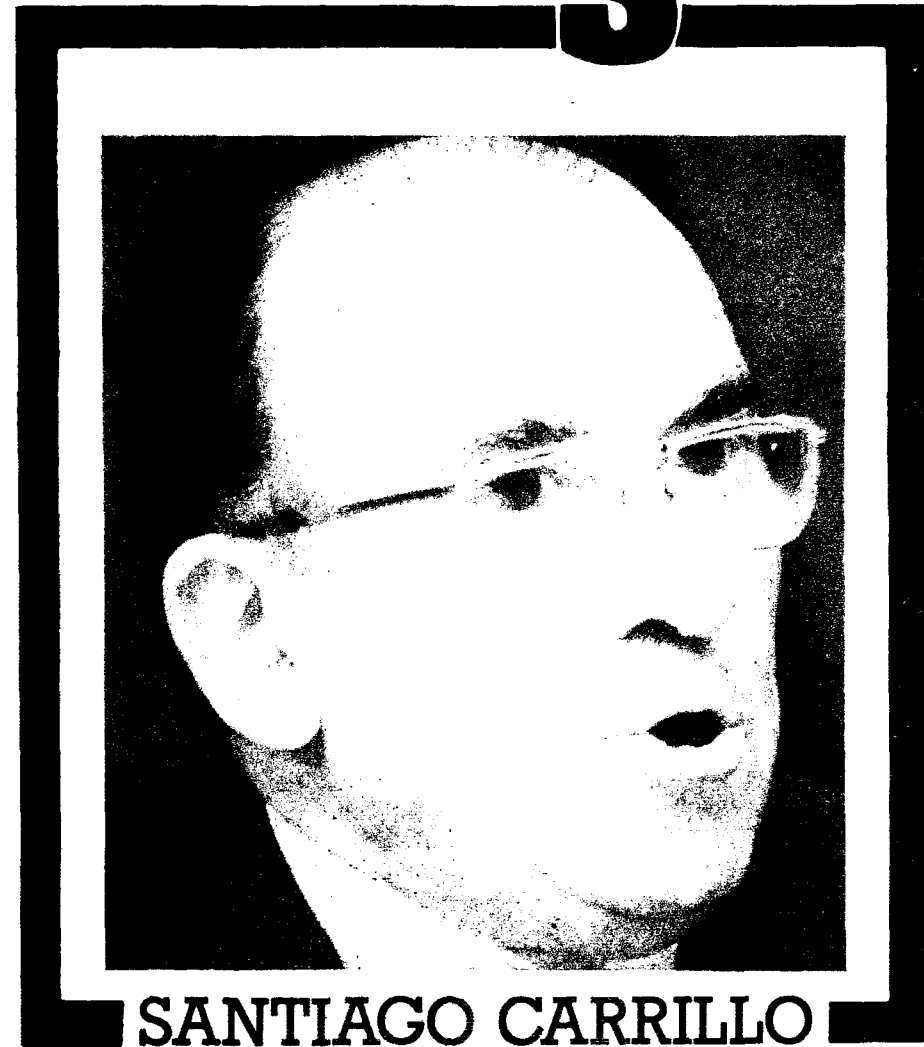
Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Communist party of Spain, is by his own admission a revisionist. In his life and thought he represents the revision of Cervantes by achieving a synthesis of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza—of principle and practical realism. In so doing, he also embodies the best in the legacy of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky, Castro, Mao, and all other great socialist revolutionaries: He can read history as a path to the future rather than as an antiquarian adulation of the past.

This alone would make him a significant political figure. But what augments his significance is that his thinking is not simply a personal testimony, but represents a broad trend of Marxian socialist thought in industrial capitalist nations. Further, this thinking is emerging not only from newcomers to the socialist movement, but also from those with 30 and 40 years' experience, whose courage, commitment, and thoughtful devotion to the cause of the working class and revolutionary socialism are not open to question.

The broad trend is most often called "Eurocommunism." But it is to be found also in non-European Marxian socialist thought, for example in Japan and, though with less organizational identity, in the U.S. As a part of modern socialist politics, the trend deserves critical assessment, which in turn requires that we attempt to understand what it is. In this brief space we wish to indicate its essential nature.

Carrillo does not speak for the entire trend of Eurocommunism because, in its essence, it affirms the diversity of socialist political outlooks corresponding with differences in historical development from nation to nation. But as Carrillo puts it in his book, *"Eurocommunism" and the State* (p. 110), the common weave in Eurocommunism is agreement "on the need to advance to socialism with democracy, a multi-party system, parliaments and representative institutions, sovereignty of the people regularly exercised through universal suffrage, trade unions independent of the State and of the parties, freedom for the opposition, human rights, religious freedom, freedom for cultural, scientific and artistic creation,

EUROCOMMUNISM and the STATE



SANTIAGO CARRILLO
General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain

and the development of the broadest forms of popular participation at all levels and in all branches of social activity."

This statement represents a recognition that the commitment to democratic principles as they have evolved in industrial capitalist societies is integral to the practical working class struggle for socialism in those societies. More specifically, the outlook represents the recognition that:

- The diversity of the working class and the socialist movement signifies its

revolutionary classes must—the representative of the interest of the whole society in progress and human freedom.

- Prolonged popular struggles for historical development to the point of representing society as a whole, as against capitalist interests, which are becoming smaller in number and less and less diverse in social composition.

- In championing democracy against the oligarchic power of corporate-capital the working class becomes—as all revo-

lutionary classes must—the representative of the interest of the whole society in progress and human freedom.

- In industrial society the working class is diverse, and the movement of the working class and its allies must, accordingly, express itself freely in diverse parties, movements, organizations and points of view, as the condition of popular unity around socialism.

- Parliamentary (or electoral) politics in its broadest sense is a decisively characteristic arena of class struggle over control and transformation of the state and the economy in industrial capitalist societies. Not to participate in them seriously is to leave the political and ideological field at its highest levels to the bourgeoisie. Serious participation means publicly formulating programs for social change and submitting them to the people's judgment and shaping, in the process of which the people freely consent not only to what they are against but also to what they are for. It prepares them for taking and exercising power in their own interests, not simply for protesting or sporadic rebelling.

These specifics by no means exhaust the elements of Eurocommunism but they are among its most important and essential aspects.

Many socialists will not consider them new. What is new is that socialist movements, in many countries with great popular bases, that in the past had rejected these views, have now come to adhere to them.

What is also new is that the broader adherence to these views makes it possible to overcome many long-standing antagonisms among socialists and hostility toward socialists by workers who validly distrusted socialists' underdeveloped ideas about democracy. And it opens the way to building, without obsolescent doctrinal qualms, a broadly based, diversified and multi-organizational movement for socialism and democracy in the industrial capitalist societies.

We hope American socialists will seriously consider and debate the meaning of this trend and its implications for the movement for socialism in the U.S. ■

Palestinian state key to durable peace

A Middle East peace settlement that does not provide for the national self-determination of the Arab Palestinian people can be neither just nor enduring. But that is the type of settlement that seems to be shaping up since Sadat's visit to Jerusalem.

An Israeli-Egyptian entente made at the expense of Palestinian nationhood will violate the Palestinians' rightful claim to justice and all the Arab people's sense of justice. It will also, on that account, fail to be the comprehensive and enduring peace that all sides claim to want, as it will perpetuate and intensify the sources of conflict between Israel and its neighbors.

Such conflict can be contained only by the application of force and more force, inflaming bitter hatreds and deepening mutual distrust. Not even Sadat's good will or his people's strong preference for peaceful development can assure Egypt's long-term fidelity to a peace agreement based on so blatant an injustice to the Palestinians. Such a "peace" will turn

out to be little more than another passing interlude before the next war.

Israeli Prime Minister Begin has shown greater flexibility than most experts anticipated, but as yet not nearly what is needed to put Israel and Egypt (let alone other Arab states) on the road to a lasting peace. He and Sadat agree that Palestinian self-determination means the right to statehood. Rather than negotiating toward that end within a framework of comprehensive arrangements for Israel's security, however, Begin has publicly rejected it.

Instead the Begin government has proposed what amounts to an Israeli colonial dominion over the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza. (See Yoav Peled's column, p. 17). It would permit continued Israeli settlement in the West Bank while retaining ultimate Israeli sovereignty there without offering genuine equality of rights or opportunities to Arabs either in Israel or in non-Israeli Palestine.

If that is the Begin government's final

position, continued conflict between Palestinian resistance and Israeli colonialist repression will be inevitable. The conflict could not long be contained. It must engulf Israel in more war with the Arab world, and more costlier war, while world opinion and support for Israel can be expected to diminish. The Begin government's publicly stated position is squandering an opportunity for a durable peace and real security for the Israeli people, out of a short-sighted fear of a Palestinian state or a grandiose and unrealistic vision of restoring a Biblical Israel ruling over all of Palestine. Probably it is a mixture of both.

While the Begin government seems bent upon a short-term peace that can be neither just nor durable, the PLO strategy appears suited to pushing Israel further into a rigid adherence to that policy. PLO leaders may believe that its strategy will lead to Israel's eventual isolation and ultimate defeat in war. But there is no guarantee

that such an outcome will lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state. A PLO recognition of Israeli statehood and a willingness to enter negotiations with Israel on that basis seems to be a more direct route to Palestinian statehood. It would encourage Israeli political movements ready to accept such an outcome to struggle more powerfully for change in their government's policy. It would make it difficult for Israel, Egypt, or the U.S. to ignore the PLO as they are now trying to do. It would restore to the PLO an initiative and degree of autonomy it is now in an accelerated process of losing.

Those of us who support a Middle East peace that respects and guarantees both Israeli and Palestinian national rights, should urge upon Israel and the PLO a policy of mutual recognition and good faith negotiation. And we should work for an American policy that does not encourage any arrangement that fails to provide for the establishment of a Palestinian state. A just and durable Middle East peace requires nothing short of that. ■

seen as against the Armed Forces Movement. The thing was that all of a sudden the left found itself with a whole armed forces at its disposal, waiting to go.

Could the Communist party and their allies on the left have taken power, pushed it to the point where they were on the ascendancy and the others on the defensive?

Well, that is more or less what the Communist party was aiming for. But to try any military stuff against the Armed Forces Movement would have been total folly.

I'd long to go back and chew it all over again. What really did go wrong and what was the element that made it go wrong.

A part of the element, obviously, was the United States. The U.S. was taken by surprise by the initial coup, but they moved in with a very strong and experienced CIA team—people who had worked in various areas of the world, Latin America, Brazil and Chile—and set to work.

But that needn't have been the decisive factor.

Certainly the Communists made errors. They all came out of prison or exile and they were out of touch with the modern situation and modern tactics. They came out thinking still in terms of the Bolshevik Revolution—all power to the Soviets was all power to the People's Committees, and setting up Soldiers Committees within the ranks of the armed forces. Which was all right, but they were thinking in terms of when they got to a certain point of seizing power.

On the other hand they had great prestige. They were strongly organized within the industrial working class, especially in what they call the "red Belt" around Lisbon, and in the south with its big absentee estates.

The Communists did a good job on the question of the internal debate on colonialization. Soares was absolutely against decolonization. He had all sorts of phony neo-colonialist type schemes. The Communist party was supported by the leadership of the Armed Forces Movement and opposed by the Socialists and everybody to the right of them. Those were the toughest battles.

And also they did a very good job in the drafting of the Constitution, getting all sorts of things into the Constitution, which are still there and can always be used in terms of reform.

Could you say that the problem with the Communist party in this case was not so much that they didn't pursue the traditional theoretical Communist position of armed struggle and insurrection, but that they were out maneuvered in the contemporary context of Portugal?

Yes, this is it. They were out maneuvered.

Eurocommunism

How do you see what happened in Portugal in relation to this thing called Eurocommunism? Was it a similar process to what is going on in France and Italy?

I don't think so. I think that Cunhal still takes a very rigid pro-Soviet line and regards Eurocommunism as the equivalent of something anti-Soviet. His position is diametrically opposite to that of [Spanish Communist leader Santiago] Carrillo, who regards Eurocommunism as a means of detaching Communist parties from the leadership of the Soviet Communist party.

Your base is in France right now. So you see developments at close hand. Do you think there is any future in the Eurocommunist strategy?

I want to have a much longer look at it. Until now I've only been looking into the background—how did this phenomena come about.

That in itself is quite interesting. Eurocommunism is an attempt to detach parties from the leadership of the Soviet Union. Not to set up any competing center, as the Soviet Union suspects, but to find their own road.

The hard fact is that all the Communist parties that are in power in Europe, except Yugoslavia, were put in power by the Soviet army. Communist parties are at an impasse as to how to go any farther. Eurocommunism is partly a product of that and partly disillusionment with the model that has been offered so far.

Do they have any choice? Could they continue along the Soviet model?

No, they can't mobilize any support. They can't mobilize new membership, for instance.

Now, since the French Communist party changed its line—it was much later than the Italian party, the change was only about a year ago—there has been a tremendous upsurge in adherents to the party. The Communist party has gained 135,000 new members since the beginning of 1977. This is the most rapid growth that it's probably ever had. And that shows that rank and file workers support this line of independence.

The Eurocommunist approach is not just in Europe.

Yes, it's a concept of independence and national Communist parties working out their own line independent of any other outside dictation.

I was recently in Eastern Europe, in Bulgaria and Hungary. I had thought of broaching the subject here and there, but I never had the opportunity. Everybody asked me what I thought about it.

It's already had a very important effect there. With a great deal of things in their day-to-day life and with the regime they are quite happy—all sorts of good positive things that are not unimportant, education, public health and all that. But I talked with an awful lot of people in those two countries who think that Eurocommunism can probably supply the defects, the things that are lacking—that is freedom of expression, more access to information, freedom to travel, all these sorts of things. And they are looking at it as sort of a bright new red star in the sky.

But it needs balancing out; it really needs looking into. *You wouldn't write it off though?*

Certainly not. There's no good sticking a label on it and saying throw it out. I'm a pragmatist, I suppose: Is

The hard fact is that all the Communist parties in power in Europe—except Yugoslavia—are there because of the Soviet army. The other parties are at an impasse as to how to go any farther. Eurocommunism comes from this disillusionment with the Soviet model.

it working or not? Is it benefiting people? Does it provide for advance and so forth? Is it going to bring revolutionary forces or progressive forces into power and provide—let me use the term—"human rights" someone is going to think that I've picked up Jimmy Carter's ticket—but in fact I am quite happy that he's launched this idea and made this an issue of confrontation between East and West. Personally, I think that this is positive. Fight it out on that issue, good, who can give the most human rights. In fact, socialist regimes should be able to provide far more human rights in the real sense than capitalist regimes.

But they don't always have a good record in that regard?

No, I agree, they don't.

Continued on page 18.

Burchett met by right-wing

By Gwenda Blair

In the midst of his first American speaking tour Wilfred Burchett has become the target of a concerted conservative attack.

It began in early November with strong editorials in the John Birch Society's *Review of the Week* and in the Hearst papers denouncing him as a KGB agent, an interrogator of POW's in Korea and a "Red" propagandist in Vietnam.

Two weeks later the potshots became a machine-gun volley. In a major four-part series the *New York Post*—owned by Burchett's fellow Australian, Rupert Murdoch—declared Burchett a "Communist newsman" and "Soviet KGB agent who interrogated and tortured American POW's in Korea and Vietnam." "In addition, *Post* reporter William Heffernan charged that there were irregularities in the visa granted to Burchett by the State department.

The *Post* staged and then reported on a confrontation between Burchett and Derek Kinne, a Korean war POW who had testified against Burchett in a 1974 libel trial in Australia. Kinne claimed that because of a heated prison camp debate—during which Kinne says Burchett said, "I think I will have you shot"—Kinne was tortured and kept in solitary confinement for 13 months.

"Gutter journalism," Burchett responded at a press conference. "If any reporter on any newspaper I ran had such disrespect for the facts as Heffernan, he'd be sacked."

Burchett denied being a member of the Communist party or a KGB agent, and denounced POW claims of interrogation and torture at his hands as perjury. He claims that he never saw Kinne before the 1974 libel trial and that he simply interviewed POW's who had already made published confessions.

The *Post* series was replete with errors in every paragraph, said Burchett. The *Post* claimed, for example, that in exchange for his support, Burchett received "unusual treatment from Communist countries, such as living in a Moscow building 'reserved for prominent Soviet citizens.'"

"It may have been nicer than the homes of some Russians," said Burchett, "but it was certainly shabbier than those given all the other Western correspondents, which they always pointed out when they came to visit."

Burchett also said that in the 1974 Australian libel case, allegations that he was a KGB agent were found defamatory (although not legally libelous because they originated in a parliamentary speech and were subject to parliamentary privilege). The charges were made by a Soviet defector named Yuri Krotkov who also, according to Burchett, named as KGB agents Jean-Paul Sartre, John K. Galbraith and various Canadian, French and Indian diplomats. (An appeals court subsequently found the parliamentary privilege defense untenable, but refused to order a new trial because of the expense of recalling foreign witnesses. This unprecedented decision has now been taken by Burchett to the Privy Council in London, the highest court of appeal for Commonwealth countries.)

Burchett's lawyer, Marshall Perlin, has announced plans to sue the *Post* for "publishing false, defamatory material in knowing and reckless disregard for the truth." A retraction, an apology, and a "very substantial amount" of damages will be sought.

There has been little support for the *Post*'s charges. Alexander Cockburn, writing in the *Village Voice*, called them "disgraceful," "deplorable," and "absurd," and noted that a State department spokesperson had declared that it had no evidence that Burchett mis-handled POW's or had any link to the KGB.

The *New York Times*, which earlier this year characterized Burchett as "a reporter of courage and exceptional ability," had not covered the Hearst/*Post* campaign, but long-time *Times* Asian correspondent Harrison Salisbury said in an interview that he thought there was no new substance to the charges.

Only *Post* writer Stephen Dunleavy, the Murdoch import from Australia whose "Son of Sam" stories helped create a wave of fear in New York, expressed support for the Heffernan series. "I'm totally anti-Burchett," he declared. "I applaud the series tremendously and so do most Australian journalists."

Other Australian journalists interviewed, including reporters for such well established papers as the *Financial Times of Australia* and Murdoch's own *Star*, however, expressed support for Burchett and respect for his journalistic career. "Dunleavy is somewhat to the right of Attila the Hun," said a *Star* staffer, who called Burchett "sort of the Australian I.F. Stone—someone I consider reliable even when I don't agree with him."

Several members of the Australian press core also recalled anti-Burchett coverage in the 1950s in the two Melbourne papers managed by Rupert Murdoch's father.

"Burchett first antagonized the Australian press when he covered World War II from a pro-Communist point of view," said Philip Fraser, former editor at Melbourne's *Digger*.

Fraser added, "When Burchett covered the Korean war from the North Korean side—after Australian troops had been sent to South Korea—he was bitterly attacked in most Australian papers, including the two managed by Murdoch's father. Rupert is just carrying on the tradition. It sold a lot of newspapers then, and it will do it now too."

When the Heffernan series was printed, Rupert Murdoch was on his way back to Australia, reportedly to help defeat former Labor party Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in parliamentary elections. A one-time Whitlam supporter, Murdoch was instrumental in Whitlam's defeat in 1975.

Fraser noted that since Whitlam's first act upon his election in 1972 was to restore Wilfred Burchett's Australian passport after a 17-year suspension, it may be that Murdoch's anti-Whitlam fervor spilled over onto Burchett. A reporter at the *Post* who declined to be identified told Burchett that Murdoch gave specific instructions for the series to be done. The charge is denied by Heffernan, who says that was merely a routine assignment by editor Bruce Rothwell. Rothwell was unavailable for comment.

Gwenda Blair is a former editor of *Liberation* and *Seven Days*.

Letters

Advice for the second year

Editor:

Your publication is the best thing to come along for the left in the past 25 years. However, I would like to see more attention devoted to some basic political problems facing American socialists:

1) the failure of socialists—at least since the Debs era—to come to grips with their identity as Americans. We have been living off other peoples' revolutions since 1917. Isn't it time we found inspiration and direction from our own historical experience to build an American revolutionary peoples movement?

2) the inadequacy of the concept of labor as the basis of socialist politics in North America. In both the U.S. and Canada where socialist movements have enjoyed local or regional success, they have been perceived as peoples movements not restricted to representing the interests of organized workers.

3) the inadequacy of lifestyle issues as the basis of socialist politics. The New Left in particular tended to confuse questions of lifestyle with substantive political issues. We should take a lesson from the Western European left where many socialists and communists are believers in the nuclear family and traditional sexual morality. Some communists are even church deacons! Isn't it sufficient for socialists to defend the right of personal self-determination without being "anti-straight"?

4) the need to be critical of established socialist societies without falling into reactionary anti-communism. We must make it clear to ourselves and to the American people that the kind of socialism that exists in societies that have never had strong democratic institutions is not the kind we advocate in America.

As a socialist and officer of a local union, I find much writing on the left inadequate in that insufficient attention is given to the basic organism of the labor movement—the local unions. There are thousands of local unions in the U.S. with tens of thousands of local union officers, stewards, and committeemen. They constitute the level of the labor movement least co-opted by the employers or the politicians. They live in constant tension with their international and the employers due to the constant pressure on them from the rank and file to move farther and faster than the international unions want them to.

—Dan Thomas
Toledo, Ohio

Low credit rating

Editor:

The story on Carrillo (*ITT*, Dec. 13, 1977) does you little credit. Carrillo may be a good guy and the Communist party may have set him up to cross the Yale picket line... but the story doesn't give us the evidence.

Who was the "member of Carrillo's group" who met with which union official who gave Carrillo the O.K. to cross the line if he "expressed solidarity with the strikers."

This kind of journalism will discredit you. It looks as if someone's strong belief got in the way of editorial judiciousness.

We need *IN THESE TIMES* to give us the inside story, not bullshit.

—Marty Gittelman
New York

Not really socialists

Editor:

How naive of John Judis (*ITT*, Dec. 13, 1977) to refer to Communists, Trotskyites and New Leftists as American socialists. They are not, nor have they

ever been socialists. They believe in dictatorship and are afraid of democratic elections. If Judis doesn't know the difference between socialists and people who still follow the CP line, he's got a bit to learn. The socialists applaud Carrillo for breaking with the Soviet Union.

—Estelle Meyerson
Los Angeles

A word for the lost pioneers

Editor:

Saul Wellman's "Inside Story" (*ITT*, Dec. 14, 1977) on the CPUSA and Carrillo at Yale is a bracing reminder for those (many) who need it that Marxist-Leninist organizations show a notable tendency to operate like Marxist-Leninist organizations. But John Judis' brief introduction to the story makes a significant factual error. "Carrillo and the Spanish Communists were pioneers, along with the Italians," he writes, "in breaking with the Soviet model of socialism and in re-infusing socialism with its original democratic content." Johnnies-come-lately, maybe, but *pioneers*? Presumably the anarchists, Left Communists and numerous Social Democrats who, between 1917 and 1923 "broke with the Soviet model" in the name of diverse democratic socialisms only spoke in Judis' phrase, with an "arrogance conditioned by historical irrelevance."

They and their progeny during the subsequent decades were the real pioneers in this context. To miss this is an arrogance in its own right, conditioned by what: historical relevance? On behalf of the CCC (ML)—Cambridge Communist Collective (Mainstream Left)—I hope this sort of manipulation of history is not typical of *ITT*.

—Paul Breines
Cambridge, Mass.

Disappointed

Editor:

I have just seen *IN THESE TIMES* Dec. 14, 1977, issue containing Saul Wellman's red-baiting attack on the Yale workers' union and the Communist party.

What distinguishes this piece from the weekly dose of anti-communism available from the *New York Times* or *Washington Post*?

It refers to an agreement between "a member of Carrillo's group" and "union leaders," all unnamed. Who were the union leaders and what authority did they have to conclude an agreement?

It quotes an unnamed "observer" remarking on the Communist party's "hypocrisy." This is a favorite device of journalists seeking to get their own point of view across in the mouth of an anonymous and supposedly objective person.

It refers to Carrillo's "shock" at the union's "duplicitous." How was this shock manifested? If Carrillo was in fact crossed up, why did he defend his action by attacking the American trade union movement as "reactionary" and pro-Vietnam war?

Wellman says he is ordinarily pleased by a progressive stand of the Yale union to welcome Communists as members. Then he accuses the union of a "cozy" relationship with the party. This is just a warmed-over version of 1950s ADA red-baiting—the only good communist is a communist who's not a communist.

I can get this type of analysis in the *Times* and *Post*. In a supposedly progressive newspaper it is very disappointing.

—Dick Minor
Washington, D.C.

Grateful

Editor:

Thanks for printing Saul Wellman's letter regarding the politically motivated picket line directed against Santiago Carrillo at Yale University. The disgusting role played by the leadership of the American Communist party, a party in which I once proudly claimed membership, is disheartening. This party, which is so slavishly devoted to following the

slightest twist and turns of policy of the leadership of the Soviet party (whoever the leadership of that party may be at any given moment), will sink to the lowest level to keep the new trends in the communist and socialist movements from being expressed.

I feel only shame that among the pickets were some who had fought at my side and at Carrillo's side in the crusade against fascism during the Spanish Civil War. As a Lincoln Brigade veteran and a believer in the Socialist future, I deplore gutter activities that can only answer new ideas and reassessments by slanders and lies. No movement that calls itself socialist can ever hope to achieve a better society by operating on the moral level of the present ruling class. If the American Communist party continues to function as if its main reason for existence is to be Brezhnev's mouthpiece in the U.S. and does nothing to participate in the development of a democratic, socialist movement that would take American working class needs and experiences into account, then it is indeed doomed to continue along the path of irrelevance.

—George Kaye
San Francisco

The role of the Spanish Socialist

Editor:

Saul Wellman has offered a devastating account of how the American CP most likely set up Santiago Carrillo as a "strikebreaker" in order to discredit the "heresy" of Eurocommunism.

Regrettably, Wellman himself slipped into old line thinking when he wrote that "at the last minute the Carter administration hurriedly arranged for Felipe Gonzales, general secretary of the Socialist Workers Party of Spain (PSOE) to come to the U.S. to 'freeze out his more famous Communist counterpart.'"

Actually, Gonzales was earlier invited to the U.S. by UAW president Douglas Fraser. The PSOE head flew directly to Michigan from Spain, and then proceeded to Washington and New York City. While he was in the nation's capitol, the UAW's International Affairs office arranged a meeting between Gonzales and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Vice President Walter Mondale, and National Security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski.

At a reception held for Gonzales in New York, he told those attending that he informed the Carter administration's foreign policy leadership that the socialists favored a truly neutral Spain, without American military bases and without Spanish membership in NATO. He took a tough and principled socialist position.

And at his meeting in New York with *ITT* supporters, Carrillo informed us that the PCE is commencing to move on the formation of a new socialist-Communist left federation, a Spanish style "common front" alliance. He had, of course, already praised the union of Communists and Socialists in his book, *Eurocommunism and the State*.

Wellman's passing reference smacks of socialist baiting that can only interfere with moving towards the left unity that Carrillo now favors, and that is possible for the first time, as former Communists and democratic socialists can move towards unity on the basis of firm commitment both to democracy and socialism in the advanced Western industrial societies.

—Ronald Radosh
New York

Too much

Editor:

May I shed a tear for Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo's embarrassment and the "lost opportunity to cement international proletarian unity"? (*ITT*, Dec. 14, The Inside Story).

Honestly, however, I wasn't that overjoyed by the role the Spanish and International CP played during the 1936-39 Civil War/Revolution in Spain. Nevertheless, I am prepared to overlook their systematic lies and denunciations of millions of anarchists and other revolution-

aries to people inside and outside Spain. I am even prepared to ignore how the Moscow-influenced Spanish CP cajoled the petite bourgeoisie and republican state functionaries into joining the ranks of the CP to maintain the status quo.

Certainly, I am all too agreeable to overlook how the CP set up their own secret police (modelled after the efficient KGB), that systematically imprisoned and executed notorious counterrevolutionaries, such as Trotskyists and anarchists. Why, it is indeed my revolutionary responsibility to let go of the fact that the CP helped defeat modern history's most revolutionary advance—where millions of people, through federated structures, self-managed their work and community without hierarchy or exploitation.

Frankly, I don't even care when the international CP suppressed all of this information. But, when those people embarrass their own comrade Carrillo by refusing to let him address the 60th Anniversary Celebration in the Soviet Union, and then slander him over the phony strikebreaking incident at Yale, why that just burns me up.

—Scott Weinstein
Montreal, Que.

By the book

Editor:

Just finished reading Santiago Carrillo's remarks at a seminar held in Washington, DC (*ITT*, Dec. 21, 1977).

The statements of this so-called communist reveal that he is nothing but a social democrat, a nationalist, and a revisionist of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

He glibly talks about Eurocommunism trying to establish the social hegemony of the "forces of labor and culture" in the countries of West Europe which would not require any form of dictatorship. Carrillo cleverly omits any mention of the class struggle and the important question of state power. I would suggest that he refer to the following quote from Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, 1958, pp. 32-33: "Between capitalism and socialism lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

It must be recognized that the capitalist class will not reconcile itself to the loss of its domination and privileges. Therefore, it will fiercely resist working class state power. Lenin wrote that the dictatorship of the proletariat is democracy for the overwhelming majority of the people and the exclusion of the exploiters and oppressors from this democracy. In the process of its development it increasingly turns into socialist democracy of the entire people.

—Samuel Hofberg
Venice, Calif.

Please, the whole truth

Editor:

I'm surprised to see Chuck Fager's piece (*ITT*, Dec. 6, 1977) published without comment by you about the *Bay Guardian's* not-so-exemplary recent history. While the *Guardian* deserves credit for an occasional good job of muckraking, it's unfortunately still very much the "illegitimate little scab paper" that Interior Secretary Andrus chose to call it. Furthermore, Fager, bless his little Woodsteinian heart, is one of the *Guardian's* most loyal scab reporters. If several *ITT* staffers didn't hail (rather recently) from these here parts, I'd assume you had simply been taken for a ride.

The *Bay Guardian* is a clear example of the limits of alternative culture in the U.S., to put it gently. A rather prosperous weekly with a healthy circulation, it was the object of a bitter 18-month long strike in 1975-76. A majority of the editorial and production staff walked out mainly over job security-related issues, following a season of fruitless negotiations and traditional stalling tactics on the part of owner and pub-

More letters on page 18.

Roberta Lynch

Where does the women's movement go after Houston?

It was just a little more than a year ago that I wrote my first column in these pages—defense of the women's movement against the charges that it was impotent and irrelevant, perhaps even "dead." Now there is Houston—and such reassurance is no longer necessary. Those who trumpeted the movement's failings, quietly mocked its potential, or paid it scant attention are hopping on the bandwagon to announce the "historic" import of the meeting and the movement.

There's no doubt that Houston was an event of great political significance—and a tremendous inspiration for feminists everywhere. I don't know—and I question whether anyone really does—how "historic" it will prove to be. History is not made just by the pronouncements of political pundits, but also by the impact of a specific event on the course of further events. We can't judge that yet.

Despite the welcome change of climate toward feminism, victory celebrations may also be premature. It's too soon to know whether Houston was merely symbolic statement of our intentions or an actual taking of new ground. It all depends on what happens next—on how we learn from and build on what transpired there. The following are some of the elements we have to go on.

• One of the overriding but underreported aspects of the conference was the transformations that it brought about in the women there. A central problem for any movement is how to create and sustain the commitment of its membership—how to inspire people to fight and how to keep them from getting tired and giving up when they've been at it for years and the light at the end of the tunnel is still but a dim glimmer.

Movements don't hold together solely on the basis of the narrowest self-interest or the loftiest political principles. An essential glue is the spirit, the sense of com-

munity and purposefulness that they can generate within their own ranks. Houston brought new women into the feminist movement and revitalized long-time activists through the warmth and energy of its collective process, the shared stories, the moving moments, the improvised strategizing. It was an intense experience in which women glimpsed their common bonds and their great potential.

The conference showed that the much-maligned concept of "sisterhood" should be rescued from the ideological dustbin. Can you imagine a meeting of 2,000 men—with thousands more observing—conducted with the lack of competitiveness, ego-tripping, or abusiveness that characterized Houston? I am no biological determinist. In the long run—and with some effort—men can be as nice as women. But in the short run women have a tremendous resource in our ability to be aware of the human dimension—a resource essential not only to the feminist cause but to any viable socialist movement as well.

• At the same time, it's important to emphasize that the spirit at Houston was not born out of an obsessive concern with "process"—a concern that has frequently hampered the movement. It rested instead on a shared sense of purpose and a foundation of mutual respect. And it rested on hard work: little was left to spontaneity or chance. The kind of ultra-democracy and anti-leadership tendencies that have held sway in the movement were nowhere in evidence. The meetings were carefully planned, compromises were skillfully negotiated, and sessions were deftly chaired. It was this sometimes invisible or taken-for-granted work that enabled the big tasks of the conference to be accomplished. And it is such organizational know-how and careful planning that is necessary to make democracy work.

• The scope of the platform adopted in Houston transcends anything yet under-

taken by the feminist movement. It not only includes most of the major goals that have been defined by the movement since its inception, but it also recognizes that some of the most pressing needs of women are not particular to women. For instance, it stands for the rights of racial minorities, for an end to discrimination on the basis of sexual preference, and for such pro-working class reforms as a national health system and full employment. The main thrust of this program is not towards the needs of an elite few, but those of the majority.

It's hard to imagine that such a program could have come into being, had the conference not had such diversity in its participants—including racial minorities, lesbians, and labor movement people.

The real test of the conference process will be the extent to which the women who were there will be willing to go beyond their own agendas to build support for the full range of issues included in the platform. It will be in the extent to which the meeting's diversity can be built into lasting alliances that will have life at the grass roots.

• More basically, will Houston be able to spark renewed organizing around the issues included in the platform? As Karen Wellisch noted in her report on the conference (*ITT*, Dec. 6): "History is made by those who have power. And women certainly haven't got it yet." Despite many impressive gains in women's situation in the past few years, this conference did not come at a time of great activity or strong strides forward. Over the last few years, pregnancy disability for women workers was shot down, the Hyde amendment succeeded in cutting off funds for many Medicaid abortions, the ERA failed in several states, child care funds remain as scarce as snow in July, and statistics were released showing that the percentage

of working women who are unionized (as compared to men) has actually declined since the early '70s. If we're not losing ground, we are just about holding it.

Second, we can't forget that Houston was a government subsidized venture from start to finish. I'm not complaining about this—I think it was terrific. But it's going to take lots of action, organization, and pressure at the local, state, and national level to meet the goals of the conference. And I doubt Congress is going to fork over \$5 million to sponsor demonstrations in favor of reproductive freedom or lobby for the ERA or develop letter-writing campaigns around pregnancy disability legislation. This means a lot more attention is going to have to be paid to the nitty-gritty work of fundraising.

Finally, we should not be too quick to write off the right as some commentators are doing. The right never had a chance to win in Houston; it had already lost the delegate battle at the state level. The best that it could have done was keep us divided and distracted—and it is to the credit of all the progressive women there that that didn't happen.

But the right hasn't lost its fervor, its organizing networks, or its funds. Nor did Houston necessarily fill the political vacuum that has enabled the right to grow. There are still many women (and men) who don't feel themselves represented by the National Women's Conference—or much of anything else.

So Houston is not yet a victory. But it does offer a program that can help to bring capitalist injustices more clearly to light—and hence to contribute to that critique and the development of a socialist awareness. And it offers a vision of women's role and a sexually egalitarian society that should be integral to any socialist movement.

Roberta Lynch serves on the New American Movement's National Committee.



Alvah Bessie/

Considered opinion *Requiescat, Charlie*

The death of Charlie Chaplin on Christmas morning at the age of 88 ended the singular journey of a man who was absolutely *sui generis*: a theatrical genius who wrote, directed, performed, played and performed music, a dancer, an athlete—he was more than the sum of all these and there will never be another like him in our time.

Child of the London slums, he lived and died a multi-millionaire but he never forgot where he came from. This apparent contradiction—which is no contradiction at all, but merely a pair of dialectical opposites—manifested itself in many fascinating ways:

In childhood a literal starveling, he achieved swift success once he emigrated to America in 1910 at 21—and he developed the gourmet tastes of the affluent and some of the more decadent, as well.

Despising the rich and what they do to the poor, he created a character who was a tramp, but who had the dignity you will find in the poorest Spanish peasant. In this role he triumphed again and again over the fatcats, and when he did not triumph, he strolled off toward the horizon with a shrug and hitched up his outsize pantaloons.

A lifelong democrat with a small d, a man who loved his adopted country and was beloved by its people, he never became a citizen and attained the highest level of acceptance by his native British society when he was knighted by Elizabeth II in 1975.

Yet, the opposite of his low opinion of

the rich finds him, in his autobiography, literally revelling in the attention lavished on him by high society and governmental bigwigs in Europe, after his forced exile from America in 1952.

That exile was the end-product of a 40-year vendetta against Caplin, waged by his business rivals in the motion picture industry—which he had helped to found—by the bluestockings who did not approve of his many marriages, affairs and divorces, nor his taste for women far younger than himself.

He was indicted for violation of the Mann Act in 1943 and was acquitted after a sensational trial. Then, despite the scientific tests that had reached an opposite conclusion, he was judged to be the father of the young woman's child.

While this scandal was still raging he "outraged public opinion" by marrying the 18-year-old daughter of America's greatest playwright, Eugene O'Neill, who promptly disinherited his child. Chaplin was 54, but the test of the great strength of this alliance lay in the eight children Oona and Charlie conceived and raised together, in the 34 years that it endured before old age took Charlie away, and in the fact that seven of their children were with their mother at the death of their father on 4 a.m. on Christmas morning.

Chaplin had also scandalized the fatcats of the film industry—and many others—by his loud demand for a second front in Europe when the Nazis had almost surrounded Moscow. Substituting for U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union Joseph E. Davies at a San Francisco

meeting for Russian war relief, Chaplin stood before the 10,000 people in the audience in black tie and dinner jacket, and after the applause for his appearance had died down, he spoke one word:

"Comrades!"

Uproar, more applause, a standing ovation. He raised his arms and added, "And I mean comrades!" He spoke of the thousands of Russian soldiers dying on the long Soviet front that night, and called for a second front in Europe—to tumultuous enthusiasm and the scorn and slander of the press. For, after all, nobody but the Communists were demanding that.

He later repeated this extemporaneous speech at Carnegie Hall in New York, to the same effect, and as he had in San Francisco, he made the point that he was not a Communist. "I am a peace-monger," he said. And that is what he was.

Chaplin felt that this speech was the beginning of his "real" troubles in the U.S. With the war safely won and the Cold War launched, the ineffable House Un-American committee announced—or rather suggested—that Charlie was associated with the Communist party, and he was informed that there was a subpoena out for him, as well as for 19 other filmworkers HUAC said in advance would be unfriendly to its purposes.

Chaplin denounced the allegation; the Committee changed its mind and did not serve its paper, and as the Cold War got colder and Joe McCarthy started to ride high in 1950 and 1951, Chaplin and his family went abroad. In an action of unprecedented pettiness and vulgarity, the

august United States of America revoked the re-entry permit of its greatest theatrical artist and a man—as Chaplin had put it on one occasion—who was known in parts of the world where people had never even heard of Jesus Christ.

There was vanity in that remark, and Chaplin was vain—but it was also a fact and that fact reflected another: that this man was something more than a vaudevillian and tramp-clown; something larger than a comedian or even a great tragedian (which he was also); he was a citizen of the world who could on the one hand be penurious in the extreme, and on the other risk his fortune and the world-wide love in which he was held by what he stood for and what he despised and by what he was not afraid to support or to denounce.

In *Modern Times*, in *The Great Dictator*, in *Monsieur Verdoux* and *Limelight* and in the under-rated and little seen *A King in New York*, the London music-hall comic who created the Little Tramp and forever affirmed the dignity of man, attacked many of the outstanding evils of our capitalist society: the slavery of man to the machine; the degenerate fascism of Hitler and Mussolini; the nature of murder for profit—a capital crime when it is done by an individual, but heroism when it is done by armies; war itself; the success-myth and the disillusionment of those who fall for it; McCarthyism and big business, the absurdity of television, the obscenity of plastic surgery and Hollywood itself.

Requiescat, Charlie.



Yoav Peled

Begin's Palestinian Bantustan

A distinguished Israeli historian and expert on international affairs, Professor Saul Friedlander of Tel Aviv University, took note, in a recent interview (*Ha'aretz*, Nov. 25, 1977), of the similarities between the Sadat/Begin meeting in Jerusalem last month and another meeting, which took place in Moscow some 38 years earlier: the meeting between the Soviet and German foreign ministers of the day—Molotov and Ribentrop. His purpose in drawing the analogy, Friedlander explained, was not to suggest similarities in ideologies or personalities involved, but rather to point out some structural parallels between the situation of Israel and Egypt in 1977 and that of Germany and the USSR in 1939. One of these parallels, which Friedlander did not mention, but should have, is the fact that in both cases the price for the *rapprochement* between the two enemies was to be paid by a smaller and weaker neighbor: Poland in one case, the Palestinians in the other.

It is becoming increasingly clear (and should have been clear all along to anyone familiar with Israel's political history) that the Likud government does not intend to make any meaningful concessions on the crucial issue of the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Begin's "peace plan" which calls for "self rule" for the Palestinians living in these two areas, does not include any provision that would substantially alter Israeli occupation.

According to Begin's plan, the proposed autonomous Palestinian council, which would administer the territories, would be given jurisdiction over local education, commerce, tourism, agriculture, health and policing. Defense and public order, however, will remain in Israeli hands, as will, of course, foreign affairs and the all-important issue of economic relations with Israel itself and with the rest of the world. (This, by the way, corresponds to the present "division of labor" between Israelis and Palestinians in the administration of Gaza and the West Bank, although formal authority over all of these matters now rests with the Israeli military government.)

If the distinction between "policing" and the maintenance of "public order" is puzzling, it should not be. "Public Order" obviously refers to the task of defending the Israeli settlements, present and future, from the surrounding Palestinian population, as well as the suppression of what would undoubtedly be defined as "illegal organizations," namely all groups, such as the PLO and the Communist party, who would be challenging the legitimacy of continued Israeli rule. (At present, of course, all Palestinian organizations, political or otherwise, are outlawed on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.)

In an interesting contribution to democratic theory, Begin's plan would allow Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza to choose between Israeli and Jordanian citizenship. It is still unclear whether this would apply to those Palestinians who are *already* citizens of Jordan, namely all of the West Bank's residents, or only those living in Gaza who are now officially stateless persons. (Unlike Jordan, Egypt never annexed the Gaza Strip and did not grant its residents Egyptian citizenship.) Depending on the precise meaning of this proposal, if all eligible Palestinians would opt for Israeli citizenship, Israel's Arab population would increase by either 450,000 or a million, and will constitute either a third or a half of the Jewish population. (There are 700,000 Palestinians in the West Bank, 450,000 in the Gaza Strip, and 600,000 "Israeli Arabs" living in Israel proper. The country's Jewish population is about 3,000,000.) In either case, given a rate of birth among Palestinians twice as high as that of Israeli Jews, within a few decades Arab citizens are bound to outnumber Jewish ones in the Jewish state. Thus, if the Israeli government is sincere in its proposal to offer the Palestinians Israeli citizenship, we must believe that it is willing to hand over to them Israel itself, in order to hold on to the West Bank and Gaza.

Obviously, then, the idea of offering the Palestinians a choice of either Israeli or Jordanian citizenship should not be taken at face value. What is more likely to happen is that the Palestinians living

in the Gaza Strip would become, like those of the West Bank, citizens of Jordan, a country that would have absolutely nothing to do with the governance of the territories in which they live. This arrangement would be equivalent to denying American Jews their U.S. citizenship and allowing them to become citizens of Israel, or to suggesting to the residents of Quebec that they become French citizens while remaining under Canadian rule.

But the greatest farce of all is the seemingly innocent suggestion that Palestinians who opt for Israeli citizenship would be able to buy land and settle in Israel, while Jews would continue to settle in Gaza and the West Bank. On both sides of the equation, this proposal is based on blatant disregard for the realities governing land acquisition in the areas involved. Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are not established on land which had been purchased on the open market, in free and mutually-agreed-to transactions. Their establishment invariably involves forceful expropriation of land (with or without compensations, depending on the legal status of the property, an extremely complicated matter to ascertain) and, in most cases, additional measures such as compulsory "relocation" of the inhabitants, drying up of water resources, defoliation of crops, etc. In some instances, the former owners of the land continue to work on it as laborers employed by the Israeli settlers.

As far as Palestinians settling in Israel, this could only happen, under existing Israeli law, if they would be able to purchase land already owned by non-Jews. Practically all Jewish-owned land in Israel (90 percent of the total land surface within the pre-1967 boundaries) is owned by either the state or the Jewish National Fund. The latter has exclusive authority over development of the land owned by both, and is charged with the determination of leasing policies. (Public land in Israel cannot be sold.) It is a major principle of the Jewish National Fund, openly and explicitly, that land under its jurisdiction, including, of course, state land as well, can only be leased by Jews. Thus, while most Arab towns and villages in Is-

rael suffer from acute land and housing shortages (Israeli Arabs have lost about 70 percent of their land since 1948 to government expropriations), their residents cannot lease land or buy apartments in nearby Jewish communities, even when these properties are vacant and unused. Thus, the offer to allow Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza to "settle" in Israel is empty and meaningless.

What Begin's proposals for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip amount to, then, is simply the creation of a Palestinian Bantustan, and the legitimization of Israeli rule there through an agreement with Egypt (and maybe Jordan) guaranteed by the U.S. The U.S. government has evidently aligned itself completely with this venture, as has the American commercial media. President Sadat is still bravely maintaining his position calling for an independent Palestinian state, but if he really expects anything remotely resembling that to come about through Begin's good will, he cannot be the astute statesman the press has made him out to be. It is more likely, however, that what he is bargaining for are some cosmetic changes in the Begin plan, so that his acquiescence in it would not look like what it really is—complete sellout of the Palestinians.

It is quite clear that an Egyptian/Israeli agreement, based on the current Begin plan and supported by Jordan and the oil-rich Arab states, is not going to bring peace to the Middle East. Moreover, such an agreement would be highly offensive to anyone committed to justice, democracy, or human rights. The greatest service progressive forces in the U.S. could make now to the cause of peace and to the well-being of the Israeli, as well as the Palestinian people, would be to try and prevent their government from supporting any agreement that does not grant Palestinians full and unqualified independence.

Yoav Peled is a graduate of Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and a doctoral candidate in political science at UCLA.

DIALOG

Socialists and free speech

Those who contend that socialists should defend the rights of Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan to engage in any racist speech that falls short of directly involving illegal acts predicate their arguments on implicit but incorrect assumptions. These include the propositions that (1) laws ostensibly designed to curb right-wingers have been used largely against the left; (2) the failure to defend the racist speech of Nazis and their ilk will result in precedents that will lead to the suppression of those espousing socialism; (3) racist speech must be constitutionally protected because freedom of speech and association has been the best weapon against rather than cause of racism; (4) such speech must be protected because freedom of speech is essential both to the movement for socialism and the democratic socialist society that we envisage; (5) such defense is necessary because otherwise we would be supporting the (admittedly) dangerous doctrine that

free speech means free speech for the left only; (6) the contention that racist speech should not be constitutionally protected necessarily leads to supporting criminal sanctions against racist speech.

What unstated assumptions and inferences underlies these points used to justify the enshrining in a mantle of constitutional protection such speech as "Hitler's ovens are the only way to deal with Kikes," and "Niggers are monkeys, not human," and to justify socialists' defense of such "constitutional" right of freedom of speech?

The unsupported assumptions include the following: the Constitution requires identical protection for all speech under all circumstances short of the immediate threat of illegal action; in any event the failure to protect racist speech will result in suppression of the left, and the precedents arising out of such failure will constitute the bases and a significant cause of such suppression; to fail to protect racist speech is the equivalent of supporting freedom of speech for the left only; the lessening of racism (to the extent that it has occurred) has been due in substantial measure to freedom of speech, which necessarily includes protection of racist speech; the right of the Klan to engage in racist speech is essential to democracy both in the U.S. today and in a future democratic socialist society; the right to free speech is absolute, no matter how it impinges on other freedoms. No thoughtful and knowledgeable person should accept any of these assumptions.

We live in a world of contradictions and understanding this is essential to

comprehension of socialism and the means of struggling for it. Capitalism represented a higher form of society than the feudal system that preceded it—a form that opened up new possibilities for the advance of human kind. Today capitalism is closing the door to further advances.

Unlimited freedom of a particular kind can lead to a loss of freedom when it comes into conflict with other freedoms. Freedom of movement can be destroyed for all if it is not limited (by traffic laws, for example) in certain respects. This is true of every freedom and free speech (important as it is) is no exception.

Complete unrestricted freedom of speech has never existed and is not foreseeable. In this country there are restrictions on freedom of speech that socialists should support. Some restrictions should be extended rather than eliminated. Thus employers are limited under the National Labor Relations Act as to what they can say to their employees and when and where it may be said. This restriction exists because the freedom of speech of the boss interferes with the freedom of workers to organize. For similar reasons, unions and employers engaging in racist speech have been denied certain rights under the same act. The conflict between producer and consumer rights has resulted in control (not nearly enough) of the producers' freedom of speech in order to protect rights of the consumers. Limitations on free speech of political candidates and their supporters (primarily by limiting expenditure of monies used for the expression of ideas)

have been imposed in order to protect freedom of choice of electors. Numerous other examples could be cited.

Should these limitations be opposed because they might be used against the left? An affirmative answer, among other things, would make an assumption concerning cause and effect that history does not support. The suppression of the left has occurred not because certain laws are on the books but because of the strength of the right and the weakness of the left in periods of real or apparent crisis. In such circumstances, laws and precedents that could justify action against the left have been used for this purpose; where such have been lacking new laws or precedents have been created.

It does not follow that precedents, good or bad, have zero effect; it does mean that politics not precedents are decisive. If this be so, then what political climate is more conducive to suppression of the left—one in which the racist speech of the Klan and the Nazis is safeguarded by the Constitution with the support of the left, or one where the struggle against racist speech is carried on with the recognition that for freedom of speech for the left to be protected it is necessary to carry on the struggle against racism in all its forms, including racist speech?

Free speech is meaningful where ideas are debated. Racist speech of the kind engaged in by the Klan and the Nazis creates an atmosphere in which the ability of the victims of racism to participate in the marketplace of ideas is severely restricted and free speech is

Continued on page 18.

DIALOG

Continued from previous page.

thus endangered for everyone. In a capitalist society unlimited free speech for employers undermines the force of free speech for workers. In a racist society, racist speech by racist organization undermines free speech for racial minorities. In both instances, the protection of such speech endangers the freedom of all progressive forces.

It does not follow that withholding constitutional protection from racist speech requires or indeed is related to rightist restrictions upon all speech. The general principle that the protection of free speech should extend to views of the left and, as well, of the right is not endangered by refusing to extend the First Amendment to racist speech of Nazis and the Klan. There is a crucial difference between the expression of ideas generally (right or left) and such racist speech. The latter is the kind of speech that is more than the expression of an idea. It imposes immediate and serious injury upon those under attack. It is comparable to defamatory speech, which is not safeguarded in the same manner as other speech by the Constitution. There is no constitutional right to untruthfully call a person a murderer; there should be none to call blacks "apes." In both instances denial is not adequate to undo the damage that has been done.

The general characteristics of ideas (which should be entitled to total constitutional protection) is that they conflict with other idea and only the resolution of that conflict by action inflicts injury or confers benefits or often a little of both. It is freedom of expression in this context that is the underpinning of the First Amendment. Words that directly impose injury lie outside of this constitutional purpose.

Democracy is protected by the first kind of speech; it often is undermined by the latter.

It does not follow that socialists should seek criminal laws against racist speech of the type discussed here. We do not seek such laws against every evil outside the protection of the Constitution—nor should we. But it is quite another thing for socialists to defend as constitutionally safeguarded the racist speech of these hate groups. To the contrary, Socialists at every opportunity and by every justifiable means likely to be effective under existing circumstances should support the proposition that democracy and the rights exercised thereunder are irreconcilable with defense of the unspeakable racism broadcast by Nazis or the Klan or their ilk.

A truly democratic socialist society will safeguard the liberties of all its people. Such safeguards should protect them against the kind of racism spewed out by the kind of organizations of which we speak.

All whites should carefully consider whether a contrary position indicates an insensitivity to the damage racist speech does to its victims and whether that insensitivity reflects the racism that our society generates and that everyone must guard against.

—Ben Margolis
Los Angeles

Solution to last week's puzzle:

J	O	M	O	A	Z	A	N	I	A	S	L	Y
R	A	M	P	T	A	L	O	N	S	H	O	E
S	T	E	P	H	E	N	B	I	K	O	A	P
O	I	S	E	R	E	A	R					
M	A	S	S	E	S	E	D	E	P	T	S	
O	B	O	E	S	H	A	S	G	L	E	S	T
P	E	U	T	I	T	G	R	A	V	E	R	
T	S	A	R	S	K	U	A	S	I			
M	O	H	A	V	E	I	T	S	L	E	I	
C	R	A	N	E	J	A	Y	A	B	L	E	R
D	E	F	T	B	E	N	B	L	U	E	S	T
R	E	A	R	T	E	R	O	S				
A	M	I	J	O	H	N	V	O	R	S	T	E
F	M	C	A	T	R	O	O	T	E	I	R	E
T	I	A	R	H	O	D	E	S	D	E	E	D

More letters

Continued from page 15.

lisher Bruce Brugmann (the hero of Fager's article).

Brugmann's philosophy is the Big Business and "Big Labor" are the same kettle of fish, and that workers organized under "Big Labor" are at best dupes and at worst agents of destruction for honest business. Throughout the strike he editorialized regularly against his striking staff as "pawns" of the "establishment" unions, namely the ITU and newspaper Guild locals that staffers had chosen to represent them. He depicted his employees as lazy ignoramuses who couldn't cut it in the free-lance jungle, and who wanted to break his financial back by assuring themselves of a job through their union contract(!). What made his position nonsensical was the modesty of the staff's demands: they were asking only for formal notice-giving procedures in the event of firings, and also for grievance machinery. Pretty elementary.

The *Bay Guardian* strike was broken after 18 months. Brugmann had chugged doggedly onward with less substance and more hip entertainment tips, plus a prominent infusion of new advertising by banks and cigarette companies. Thus, the strike was not simply some "unsuccessful" passing phenomenon, as Fager would have the reader believe.

ITT is certainly entitled to print articles like Fager's, giving credit for good journalism. But if you're going to praise the occasionally excellent work of a basically tainted institution (one that falsely wears the mantle of fearless "progressiveness"), then readers deserve some introductory word from you, to put it into perspective.

That aside, *ITT* is mostly golden! You are putting new life into a tired left. Keep giving us encouragement and trouble (like the piece on Carrillo at Yale, which righteously raised more questions than it answered!).

—Anita Frankel
Berkeley, Calif.
(Former Public Affairs Director,
KPFA-FM)

The J.P. Stevens of "alternative" journalism

Editor:

Would you run an article by a former J.P. Stevens Co. executive praising their dandy sheets? A puff piece about Coors beer by someone who used to work for the company? You've done something roughly similar by printing Chuck Fager's article about the role of the San Francisco *Bay Guardian* in sinking the nomination of Robert Mendelsohn to the Interior Department.

Fager's article mentions an "unsuccessful strike" at the *Bay Guardian*. He fails to mention, however, that he was a strike-breaker there, crossing the picket lines to help autocratic owner Bruce Brugmann defeat workers' efforts to join a union. Many unions, community groups and progressive people here boycotted the paper in the hope of pressuring management into working out a decent contract. But thanks to the efforts of people like Fager, the strike failed.

It's true that the *Bay Guardian* played an important role in stopping Mendelsohn's nomination, but I'm surprised that you would hire a scab to tell us about it.

—Eve Pell
Mill Valley, Calif.

Straw man

Editor:

Joshua Dressler's column on free speech (*ITT*, Dec. 21, 1977) sets up a straw man—the notion that those who believe Nazis should be permitted to march in Skokie are advocates of "absolute free speech."

So far as I know, the ACLU, the editors of *ITT*, and others who believe Nazis should be permitted to march also believe, as does Dressler, that the law can reach "the fraudulent corporation, the defamer, and the murder-solicitor." Moreover, contrary to what Dressler

supposes, we all believe that the law can intervene before "the harm that occurred as a result of" speech actually occurs: that is, before the unsafe corporate product is consumed, before the defamation destroys a person's livelihood, before the murder solicited takes place. None of us, to the best of my knowledge, would hesitate to regulate television violence.

The difference between those who would ban Nazis in Skokie and those who would not is: may persons who advocate political opinions generally considered anti-social express their views freely so long as they do not engage in illegal action, or urge others to engage in immediate illegal action?

Those who answer this question Yes

do not believe in "absolute free speech." On the contrary, the instant speech protagonists cease to practice mere advocacy, and begin to urge immediate lawless action, we believe the state should step in.

—Staughton Lynd
Niles, Ohio

Correction

The cover photo of the Dec. 14-20 issue, which showed a clerical worker walled in by files, gave an incomplete credit. The photo was by Michael Rosenbaum, came from District Council #37, AFSCME, and was run in *Public Employee Press*. It is part of an exhibit, "Women at Work," which has been on show in New York City.

Burchett

Continued from page 13.

A last question on Eurocommunism. Is there anything innate in the European situation that would preclude Eurocommunism from working? It's the question of an alliance with the Socialists; the Socialists will not always, necessarily, betray the Communists. Is it perhaps possible to have that kind of alliance?

What is going on in France in this respect is very, very interesting and touches on this question. The Communist party certainly learned from its mistakes in 1968, from having been taken completely by surprise. That's one thing. And also taking steps in case the left wing alliance wins and in case the Socialist party betrays the program. I'm sure no Communist leader would express it in this way, but this is my assessment of what's been going on.

The Communist party over the last year or so has been setting up basic organizations in virtually all enterprises in France. I suppose you would call them party cells. Until now they have set them up in some 8,000 enterprises.

These 8,000 are linked with 43 absolutely key industrial or other enterprises—anything big. There will be 10,000 by the end of this year. They are expanding quite rapidly now. Those 43 are sort of a general staff headquarters and they have direct communication with the Central Committee of the party.

Before, all this went up through regional committees, provincial committees and so forth. They've centralized it to allow for greater flexibility and instantaneous

communication.

An obvious result is that they can't be taken by surprise as they were in 1968 when all of a sudden 10 million workers and employees were out on strike, occupying factories. That's one thing.

The other thing is that they have a fantastic machinery. The minute they want to pull a lever they'll have things going on in virtually all the industrial and administrative establishments throughout France. The Socialists are terribly worried about this. They criticize it, although I don't see they have any reason to criticize it—they do have a reason, I guess, but no right to criticize it.

The program calls for nationalization of some key industries. I forget the number, but the present split is because the Communists have demanded the nationalization not only of those mentioned in the original program, but also all the affiliated and branch concerns. The Radicals oppose this completely and want to go back to the original list. The Socialists are also saying that they should stick to the original list.

But supposing there is a compromise and they agree on that as an electoral program and they win. And then they start on this program and the Socialists say "well, it's not the right time and we'd better leave this till we get a more clear mandate from the people."

The Communists are in a very, very strong position to take it by storm and to confront them—"Well, it's done; the workers have occupied; there it is; there are the keys to the managing director's office."

This new organization and the popularity of the party once it's taken a strong position on these things is the reason for the 135,000 new members this year. ■

Report to Subscribers

This is the first report on our circulation growth and its character in several months, so we are submitting a report of subscriptions and operating income for the last quarter of 1977. The figures show a substantial increase in our rate of growth in the last eight weeks of the year, during which period, for the first time, *IN THESE TIMES*' operating income has just about equalled our operating expenses.

This situation enables us to enter 1978 with the prospect of paying off our most pressing obligations and of being able to use new monies raised to expand circulation and to improve the quality of our coverage.

Our goal is to reach 30,000 subscribers in 1978. For the last eight weeks of 1977 we received subscriptions at an annual rate of over 22,000. With the active help of our readers we are confident that we will reach our 1978 goal.

The following figures are for (1) new subscriptions from all sources other than direct mail solicitation or renewals, (2) direct mail responses and (3) renewals. The money each week is our total operating income. It does not include new investment or contributions of over \$100.

Week (ending)	New Subs	Direct Mail Subs	Renewals	Total Subs	Money/wk
10/7	100	5	58	163	\$2,475.67
10/14	86	3	52	141	1,977.50
10/21	90	5	36	131	2,314.12
10/28	101	1	32	134	2,336.50
11/4	151	14	36	201	3,010.36
11/11	163	230	39	432	5,689.50
11/18	143	282	40	465	5,026.68
11/25	191	181	33	405	5,094.85
12/2	187	161	25	373	4,873.50
12/9	209	79	178	466	7,671.65
12/16	168	56	247	471	6,836.41
12/23	228	48	160	436	5,956.44
12/30	103	28	157	288	4,029.69
Totals:	1920	1093	1093	4,005	\$57,292.87
Weekly Averages:	148	84	84	308	\$4,407.14

Total subscriptions for *IN THESE TIMES* now slightly exceed 10,000. Direct sales each week are about 2,000.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

OFF THE RECORD

Neither the best
nor the worst
year for the media

Compassionate, thoughtful, incisive
and intuitive, he is a true pro.

By Sidney Blumenthal
and Danny Schechter

It was neither the best nor the worst of times. Still, the past year—1977—has been filled with illuminating events. How the public viewed these events was largely determined by the media.

Many stories were overcovered, while others of great significance were barely mentioned at all. Much of the way in which the year is understood has depended upon which stories the media selected to devote space and time to.

Most Over-Covered Stories of the Year: The First Family was everywhere. For a fee of \$5000 anyone could purchase an appearance by First Brother Billy Carter, whose feats of beer guzzling landed him a contract with a brewery that named a beer after him.

The press obliged Billy by covering virtually every ridiculous promotional stunt he engaged in, including the crowning of Miss Piggy Pizza. Even Amy's treehouse couldn't compete with this.

Deaths were a big item in 1977 for the press, particularly in the slow summer months. Elvis Presley's death came just after newspaper circulation began to dip in the August aftermath of the capture of Son of Sam.

Elvis merited more ink and posthumous television time than anything occurring in South Africa, or the South Bronx for that matter. His death also overshadowed Groucho Marx's, but Bing Crosby's collapse on a Spanish golf course happened fortuitously since nobody else was

dying at that time.

Most Under-Covered Stories: If it wasn't for mid-summer rioting in New York City during a blackout the lems of urban blight wouldn't have received any attention at all.

Jimmy Carter's visit to the South Bronx was covered like a close encounter of the fourth kind. He seemed genuinely amazed that people lived there.

The past year has also seen the revival of what the press termed the New Right. Cover stories in *Newsweek* and *New Times* heralded the renaissance of this new conservatism, while each reached diametrically opposing conclusions.

Newsweek's story failed to distinguish between the academic neo-conservatives like James Q. Wilson, Norman "Kultur-Kampf" Podhoretz, and Irving "I didn't know it was CIA money" Kristol, and the far right wing. There are still significant differences between *Commentary* magazine and the Birch Society's *American Opinion*.

Newsweek and the other conventional media also neglected to point out the financial sources of money of the far right, the ties of the Birch Society and other extremist groups to the right's surge in the Republican party, and the class origins of the phenomenon.

The press, for the most part, has preferred to state simply that the right is on the move, without examining its roots. The coining of conventional wisdom is, of course, a traditional role for press pundits and newsweekly writers. The ultimate

impact might be that the press is actually reinforcing the trend, however unintentionally.

The New Yellow Journalism: The failure in 1977 to analyze closely individual issues reflected an increasing trend in the press to ignore all issues. Many newspapers began supermarketing the news. There was more emphasis on soft features, gossip, low-level consumer supplements, and personalities. The *Miami News* even advertised itself as "the newspaper for people who watch television."

Trying to cash in on the gossip craze, The New York Times Company launched *Us*, a *People* look-alike. *People* itself began to run out of celebrities and had to attempt creating them.

In the vanguard of the new puffery was Rupert Murdoch, press lord of the *New York Post*, *New York* magazine, *Village Voice*, and other publications on various continents.

In American journalism Murdoch has become the Minister of Fear. He had the distinction of promoting the greatest new personality of the year—David "Son of Sam" Berkowitz, a psychopathic killer who was lifted out of the police blotter to worldwide fame.

Murdoch parlayed Berkowitz's crimes into a mechanism for raising circulation. The *New York Post's* screaming headlines helped create an atmosphere of terror in New York City, skillfully used by the new New York mayor Edward Koch in his campaign.

Koch, not so incidentally, was Murdoch's candidate, hyped in the news columns of the *Post* in such an unbalanced way that most of the city staff of the paper signed a petition protesting the unfair coverage. Accusing Murdoch of yellow journalism is like calling David Berkowitz nuts, however.

One reason offered for Murdoch's incessant hype of Koch was that the *New York Times* had already picked Mario Cuomo as their candidate for mayor. Murdoch wanted a man of his own, for whose success he might be credited. And perhaps nothing aided Koch more than the creation of Son of Sam. Murdoch's dialectic of fear triumphed in 1977.

Stories that didn't appear: While "60 Minutes" was investigating prostitution in a small Wyoming town, many significant stories were ignored or scantily covered. Among the stories that didn't appear on NBC and CBS news was an examination of the role of the Trilateral Commission, the most influential group with the Carter administration. Why hasn't there been a "Segment 3" or "60 Minutes" investigation of this?

The U.S. Foreign Assistance Program has also been overlooked. Through this program right-wing dictatorships, among others, continue to receive massive amounts of American aid. Yet there has not been any extended investigation of this in the press.

While a national newspaper like the *Washington Post* might occasionally devote a story of two to foreign aid, other papers never print an item about it, and the network news studiously has avoided mention of the issue so far.

Meanwhile, a study by the Center for International Policy has detailed exactly how the Foreign Assistance Program undermines human rights through bolstering dictatorships. The information is readily available, but the press has not used it.

Similarly, the dynamics of American intervention abroad has been overlooked or downplayed. For example, the role the U.S. took in arranging third party intervention in Zaire's Shaba province during the rebellion there this year was never covered. The press looked only for repetition of the Vietnam pattern, a strategy that American policy-makers appear to have abandoned in lieu of newer approaches. Like old generals, journalists are eager to fight the last war.

Human rights: Jimmy Carter's development of the human issue prompted the press to devote considerable space to dissidents from Eastern Europe. Most Americans now know who Solzhenitsyn is. But how many have ever read a story about Ben Chavis, one of the Wilmington 10, imprisoned in North Carolina on the testimony of witnesses who have since recanted?

Amnesty International lists Chavis as a political prisoner. Yet the focus on him

in his own country is less than the attention paid to Soviet dissidents.

Also, how familiar was the American public with Steve Biko before his murder? South African liberation leaders, including those in jail, are given perfunctory coverage. How many Americans have ever heard of Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, imprisoned in South Africa?

CIA: The *New York Times* at year's end followed *Rolling Stone's* lead in publishing stories on the press relationship with the CIA. Congress also heard testimony on the question.

Most of the names of those journalists in bed with the CIA aired this time around were published before or played marginal roles. One exception was C.L. Sulzberger, the *New York Times's* roving columnist. After Sulzberger denied *Rolling Stone's* charges that he had aided the Agency, the *Times's* own reporters repeated the charges, printing them as facts.

Only mentioned in passing is the continued reliance of journalists on government intelligence agencies for information and a frame of reference, especially in coverage of foreign affairs. The *Atlantic Monthly*, for example, makes a practice of regularly sending articles on foreign affairs it is about to print to members of the National Security Council for their perusal and advice.

This interaction is limited compared to the links between *Newsweek* and *Time* reporters in the field and political officers of American embassies, who often provide background material and translations of documents.

To his credit, the *Times's* Terence Smith wrote a brief piece in which he noted that in 1977 the CIA gave hundreds of press briefings. Yet to be examined is the impact this has on shaping the attitude of journalists and the public that receives their reports.

Fall Guy of the Year: When Daniel Schorr got too close for comfort to the CIA's secrets he was canned at CBS, in part because of his personal style with his colleagues. But Schorr was also on to the CIA connection with CBS' founding father, William Paley. In his memoirs Schorr, however, has simply reported bits and snatches of Paley's CIA link. The full story has yet to be aired.

No regrets: Can anyone think of an idea for which Eric Sevareid will be remembered? How Sevareid gained his reputation as profound is a mystery. He is, however, an expert blatherer, incapable of articulating a clear opinion on anything except communism. He's against it.

Sevareid once wrote a good book, *Not So Wild a Dream*, in which he called himself a socialist. Now he says he's a neo-conservative.

As a close friend of William Paley and frequent defender of the CIA's old boys, like Dickie Helms, Sevareid probably knows a great deal about the CIA's press links. Will he ever talk? If he did, he might actually be credited with reporting a real story.

Peace Is At Hand Dept.: Anwar Sadat's landing in Jerusalem was covered like Neil Armstrong's landing on the moon. His every step was reported. Walter Cronkite and Barbara Walters nominally acted as intermediaries for Sadat. The press was so taken with Sadat's finesse in dealing with American journalists that it has neglected to investigate the substantial role played by the American government in orchestrating the whole affair.

The superficial treatment of the Middle East, one of the stories most extensively covered by the media in 1977, reveals the press' limits most starkly. Sadat and Begin are regarded as great personalities. They have achieved success in American terms; they have become celebrities.

Man of the Year: Our choice for mensch of the year is a journalist of the finest qualities. He is compassionate and thoughtful, incisive and intuitive, and in a single hour can crack the toughest story. He is a true professional, uncompromising and yet fair-minded.

We're speaking of the former WJM news director in Minneapolis, now city editor at the *Los Angeles Tribune*, Lou Grant. Congratulations, Lou.

Sidney Blumenthal is now overseeing In These Times's Boston Bureau. Danny Schechter is a Nieman fellow in journalism.

Wit' a Brooklyn Accent

By Mark Naison
NBA Commissioner Larry O'Brien is to be congratulated for his decision to impose a 60-day suspension and \$10,000 fine on Laker forward Kermit Washington following his one-punch knockout of Houston Star Rudy Tomjanovich.

Tomjanovich, who was rushing in to break up a fight between Washington and Kevin Kunnert, suffered multiple fractures of his jaw and nose and will be out for the season. Doctors say that given the force of the blow, which caught Tomjanovich unawares as he was running toward Washington, the Rockets forward is lucky to be alive.

The incident has cast a pall over the entire NBA season. When a respected, highly skilled player, who has never been in a fight, finds himself put out of action for a season (and maybe much longer) by a player of limited ability who has made

his reputation as an "enforcer," it's time for everyone in the game to take a close look at what they're doing.

Commissioner O'Brien has acted correctly in suspending Washington for at least as long as Tomjanovich is out of action. Would be knockout artists—and there are quite a few around the league—now know that their careers may be jeopardized if they try to turn the court into a boxing ring.

But the real significance of the incident may lie in how it affects the vast majority of players who are there to play ball. There is some evidence that people around the league were badly shaken by what happened to Rudy T ("There but for the grace of God go I"). If this concern is translated into action the next time tempers flare on the court, it may have more of a calming effect than fines and suspensions.

In the heat of battle the action of other players is often the main factor determin-

ing whether a shoving incident or an exchange of elbows will turn into a fight. If they ask that play be stopped, and try to cool out their teammates, there's a good chance the incident will end there.

When a fight does break out, how other players react can also make the difference between a quick flurry and a real brawl. If the players instantly rush out to restrain their teammates—rather than leaving them alone or egging them on—the chances are that no one will be seriously hurt.

This kind of self-policing is absolutely necessary if basketball is to avoid the fate of sports like hockey where fighting has

become as much of a crowd attraction as the game itself.

The potential for such degeneration is great. There is an enormous amount of body contact in basketball, especially in rebounding, and it's very easy for the bumping, shoving and elbowing for position to reach the point where one or another player loses his temper. In addition, because much of the action occurs high in the air, and because players wear no protective equipment, a cheap shot artist can wreak havoc.

The worst such offense is low bridging—bending down under a player going for a rebound or driving to the basket in such a manner that he flips headfirst onto the floor. In every schoolyard I've ever played in, people who do this are ostracized or held in utter contempt.

Basketball players, on all levels, have an informal "code" that defines acceptable behavior, and they exert strong social pressure on those who break it. If the game is to survive in its present form—as a sport that demands grace, agility and physical improvisation as well as teamwork—players must extend that code to condemn players who hit opponents while they are not expecting it, or who try to hurt people in the course of a fight.

In These Times' Superbowl picks

Abe Garbanzo

Dallas by six (20-14). Now, if I survive an acute case of gastro-pocketbook disorder, brought on by quick referees' whistles, I'm betting on Dallas to take it all. Dallas was impressive in beating Minnesota. Besides, I'm afraid that playing against his former teammates, Craig (Born Again) Morton will reject his Denver heart transplant and display the kind of form that even Giant fans couldn't love.

Mark Naison

Dallas by seven (17-10). Both of these teams have great defenses, but a scrambling quarterback and a host of fine backs and receivers gives Dallas more flexibility on offense. I'd love to see the "Orange Crush" whip Landry's computerized legions, but I don't think they can do it away from Denver's mile-high stadium.

Anita Diamant

Denver by four (17-13). Free All Wild Horses! Buck the Cowboys! As an ex-Denverite (but in my heart a Coloradoan forever) I give it to the Broncos. This is, after all, the year of the horse, and even if you are not a betting person and even if you're indifferent to the whole gladiatorial scene, as the understeeds, Denver is the more charismatic bunch, Tony Dorsett excepted. Besides, you have to be grateful to Denver for giving us this year's most revealing use of TV sports phraseology; on January 15 we can all look forward to more "Moses in Motion."



Tony Dorsett running for paydirt in play-off against the Bears.

UPI

Kidnapped

Continued from page 8.

working "sadly" to throwing away the keys of locked new cars. Hundreds of shop organizers have "disappeared," apparently after having been pointed out to police by industry executives. Executives considered responsible for such eliminations may risk assassination by leftist guerrillas. But for one thing, Gasparoux's job did not seem to involve him in labor disputes.

For another, his assassination seemed perfectly timed to distract French attention from the nuns. Right-wing Paris newspapers readily headlined that Guerrillas had killed Gasparoux, although there was no proof. Some Argentine exiles abroad had an even more sinister interpretation: the killing of Gasparoux was both a diversionary action and a retaliation against the French for protesting about the nuns. According to this view, parapolice forces murdered Gasparoux in order to deliver this message: if you protest about our killing obscure leftists, we'll start killing farther up and to the right. Nobody is safe. We can always blame "leftist guerrillas."

This grim hypothesis received indirect support the next day, Dec. 17, when *Agence France Presse* in Buenos Aires received an obviously fake message from the Montoneros "claiming credit" for abducting the nuns. An accompanying photograph of Sister Alicia and Sister Leonie, placed by their captors under a badly drawn

Montoneros symbol, proved only that the two nuns, held by the authors of the fake message, were in grave danger.

The message was a clear example of "black propaganda"—acts or statements disguised as the work of the political adversary. The message said the Montoneros were holding the nuns to back demands for the release of 20 political prisoners by Christmas Eve and also to get the French government and the Catholic church to denounce the "Videla dictatorship." This was preposterous on the face



Montoneros



of it. Nobody would know better than the Montoneros that the fate of two populist-leaning clergywomen could scarcely be an element of "pressure" to get the Argentine armed forces to release their top political prisoners.

In their categorical denial the next day, the Montoneros recalled that "17 Catholic clergy have been assassinated by the mili-

tary since the March 24, 1976, *coup d'etat*, including the Bishop of La Rioja, the Reverend Angelelli, killed in a mysterious automobile accident." Indeed, the ideological origins of the "left-wing Peronist" Montoneros, an authentically Argentine political hybrid, are probably more Christian than Marxist, some of its early leaders having evolved from socially concerned Catholic youth groups. Aware that such an evolution is always possible, despite the generally conservative, even reactionary, nature of the Argentine Catholic church, the military security forces keep a particularly suspicious eye on Catholic schools and clergy who fraternize with the lower classes.

A week earlier, in another instance of "black propaganda" directed against the Montoneros, news agencies received a fake Montonero press release expressing solidarity with the Baader-Meinhof group. The Argentine authorities obviously wanted to use the bad image of the Baader band to suggest to world opinion that the Montoneros are an Argentine version of the same thing, when in fact they are very different, first of all in having a broad popular base. Besides, they are single-mindedly concerned with Argentina and deny having anything to do with "international terrorism." With most of their top leaders forced into exile in Italy, they stress that they have no intention to go looking for trouble by getting involved with European extremists. They seek support against repression from such powers as the French government and the Catholic church, and they are by no means so

idiotic as to kidnap French nuns as a means to get it.

A Montoneros spokesman passing through Paris shortly after leaving Argentina told journalists the nuns were obviously victims of one of the more or less autonomous military repression groups only very loosely controlled by the government.

An Argentine exile in Paris commented bitterly, "What do you do about such a system? They are not ashamed of anything, they brazenly deny responsibility, Videla pretends to be a little bit nicer than the others, everyone plays his role."

"The French government's firm reaction" to the disappearance of the nuns "obliged the military junta to seek to get out of responsibility for the kidnapping," an official Montoneros statement said.

The crude attempt to pin the blame on the Montoneros was perhaps not the only purpose of such a transparent "black propaganda" trick. Its more dangerous aim may have been to discourage such "firm reactions" in the future by demonstrating a brazen cynicism apparently immune to any kind of argument or appeal. Thus it may be argued in diplomatic circles that discreet, behind-the-scenes pressure is more effective than making a public fuss that could provoke the "uncontrollable" nasties into being even nastier.

The moral is to see no evil, hear no evil and speak no evil, and remember that Argentina, spending millions for the World Cup to be held there next June, is the land of fun and games.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records



BLANK GENERATION

Richard Hell and the Voidoids
(Sire Records)

TALKING HEADS: 77

Talking Heads
(Sire Records)

Now that some of the enthusiastic cant about Punk has begun to fade, it might be a good time to take a look at two of the more interesting "new wave" releases of the past year.

Neither the Voidoids nor the Talking Heads fits easily within the definition of Punk as promoted by journalists, who have often been less concerned with the music than with the self-conscious ugliness and crudity and the rebellious postures of the musicians. Some have diagnosed the aggressive anger of punk-rockers as a sign of social unrest and political discontent.

But American punks, unlike their British cousins, have no decrepit monarchy to throw stones at, and no widespread unemployment among whites to serve as a breeding ground for their movement. In any case, the publicity has had the effect of channeling this underground music into the mainstream, and judging by the marketing efforts (Sire Records has signed a distribution deal with Warner Communications, the conglomerate which also brings you *The Waltons*, *Dirty Harry* and Nixon's memoirs), Punk now has a commercial value unrelated to any social or political significance.

Blank Generation is an interesting mixture of contrivance, raw talent and hard-edged off-key rock. At its core is Richard Hell's surreal teenage vision of the nothingness produced by advanced capitalism. As he sings in the title cut:

*I was saying let me outta here
before I was ever born.*

*It's such a gamble when you get
a face...*

Hell is a rocker reacting to his environment in a healthy way. He questions, probes and attacks. He sticks to the music of the gutter while singing:

*I could live with you in another
world,*

But not this one.

The Voidoids' music is nasty and anti-harmonic, but hardly reactionary. Nor is it revolutionary. Its roots can be traced to groups like Creedence Clearwater (Hell covers "Walking on the Water"), but the influence of Patti Smith can also be heard. It's an album full of energy and emotion, which

makes it well worth a listen.

The Talking Heads were one of the seminal New York punk club CBGB's bands, but their music isn't bound by any repressive notions of devised ugliness. Their visual presentation is one of clean-cut intellectualism. They refuse to shock by attacking outmoded sexual or political conventions. This stance doesn't inhibit their music at all.

Their sound, featuring the vocal and lyrical inventions of David Byrne, is disciplined, restrained, less dense than that of the Voidoids or the Sex Pistols. This spare music is joined to a more humane vision of life as well—but one that still encompasses the visceral power of a song like "Psycho Killer." The group has a full-time female contributor (Martina Weymouth) whose bass playing anchors the band's modest rhythmic intentions.

This first album is so complex and successful a statement that there is no question about whether the Heads can sustain their artistic direction. They are in control of their music. Here's a group that has triumphed over the pervasive PR of the past year, making music that defies easy description, showing that they've developed a freedom to create without bothering to fit the categories which are supposed to define popular music today.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann reviews music and film regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.



Johnny Rotten

NEVER MIND THE BOLLOCKS, HERE'S THE SEX PISTOLS

Sex Pistols
(Warner Brothers)

File this under pistols, not sex: It's music to make war by, not love. Johnny Rotten and his co-

Pistols have forged a new kind of rock'n'roll, a negative gospel music that preaches amorality, lovelessness, indifference. It's an angry music based on fear and hopelessness, a music that replaces the sermon with the diatribe. It's great rock'n'roll.

A goosetep heralds the album, with Rotten ranting, "I want to see some history" in the fictitious vacation spot "New Belsen." He's got a "reasonable economy," he mocks. The tune is called "Holiday in the Sun."

The Sex Pistols say they don't know what they want, but they know where to get it—a far and desperate cry from 1960s shaman Jim Morrison of The Doors, who announced, "We want the world and we want it now!" The Sex Pistols spit paradoxes, vamping on a society that has no answers or promises, in which work has no meaning ("She worked in a factory/An illegitimate place to be").

They may knock work, trash intimacy (listen to "Bodies," a viciously misogynistic song in which Rotten spins obscenities to the band's charging delight) but, through hard work and cunning, they've parlayed an anti-establishment stance and several controversial singles into a lucrative contract. They may try to pose as impervious to pain and feeling, but their music shows as much self-love as self-hatred.

The music is nothing new: a few chords washed with feedback over the menacing rhythm section of bassist Sid Vicious and drummer Paul Cook. Guitarist Steve Jones takes no solos, but he's got his wall of sound down. "Anarchy in the UK" is an update of The Who's "I Can See For Miles," and "Sub-mission" rings the same changes as The Kinks' "All of the Day and All of the Night."

This album probably won't be loved; it's not easy to live with, and is relentlessly hard, nasty and at times difficult to understand.

The Sex Pistols equate society with lobotomy, and the equation scares them; it has turned them to the rock of shock. Unlike their American counterparts, The Ramones, who kid about getting high and treat lobotomy as a joke, The Sex Pistols lash out, in a music whose basis may be old but whose vitality is right on time and target.

—Carlo Wolff

Carlo Wolff edits a newspaper in Burlington, Vt., and reviews records regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

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—Studs Terkel

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New York City's mayor ends discrimination against gays in the city workforce; congressional efforts to limit lie detector use; a critique of

NBC's four-hour special on healthcare; Diana Johnson on "Germanization" in Europe; Hilda Bernstein on South Africa.

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Records



HEART AND SOUL
Danny Peck
(Arista Records)

Intimate, expressive, sizzling, passionate and provocative: it's heart and soul, *Heart and Soul*.

Twenty-two year old Danny Peck in his first release displays

singing skills and lyrical diversity that would be admirable in a seasoned artist. The singer/songwriter's ten original tunes cover a variety of musical traditions, combining nightlife rock and roll, soothing jazz, rhythm and blues and acoustic ballads with a vision of better days to come.

"My music travels through different roads," he says. "I really believe in the music enough to let it speak for itself. Looking at life, loves, hurts, relationships, on being 22 and looking at the world around you; it all interrelates, and that's what I write about. I sing a lot of sad things. I may be real lonely, I may sing that the world's messed up right now, but I believe that we can change it. Everything we have in this country we struggled for, you know."

Peck captures the pain, disillusionment, hopes and passions of people struggling to survive. His songs reflect the politics of outrage, protest and desire for a "better way, a natural way."

Peck was active in the anti-war movement. Tracing his musical and political orientations, he says, "My earliest musical experiences were civil rights marches. My parents were fulltime political activists, 'a movement family.' When you're three years old, most kids go to church and get it there. For me, I heard 'Oh Freedom,' early folk and civil rights songs."

Peck's first public performances were in the late '60s when he played at defense fund rallies and other anti-war activities. Soon after, he was lead singer of Rivership, a rock'n'roll band from the Moreland section of Cleveland.

In the early '70s, Peck moved from Cleveland to the Boston area, where he played in the parks, on Cambridge street corners and at small bars in Provincetown. Next he moved to Record Land (L.A.), auditioned at different companies for two years, played solo at the Melting Pot in Hollywood and supported himself by working as a busboy.

Last year Peck was put in

touch with Arista's all powerful Clive Davis. The day after the young artist auditioned for him, the record executive marched into the restaurant where Peck was carrying trays and signed him for the production of *Heart and Soul*.

Peck spent almost a year assembling instrumental support of the best quality. The album was produced and arranged by David Foster and Jay Lewis and features musicians like jazz saxist Tom Scott, drummer Victor Feldman and guitarists David Paich and Larry Carlton. The skillful arrangements highlight Peck's versatile and often daring voice while accentuating his evocative lyrics.

Thus far, all reviews of the album by trade journals and music critics have been encouraging. Reviewers have compared Peck, both musically and lyrically to Randy Newman, Bruce Springsteen, Tim Buckley, Al Jarreau and Bob Dylan. Harvey Kuberneck of *Melody Maker*, reviewing this year's Arista convention, said that Peck "was the highlight

of the convention."

Danny Peck's power is his own. In concert and on record his songs capture the lure of romance, the shimmer and snap of soul, the anguish of the city, the bonds between people and the possibility of change.

"This Could Be a Real Nice Place" is a protest ballad in which Peck cries,

...when the sun hit the city,
city look the same,
so much hardship so much pain,
oh I believe there's a better way...

"The Smoke is Risin'" is a funky dance and romance tune comparable to the movement in Stevie Wonder's "I Wish."

"Brother of Mine," perhaps his best work, weds his vision to a ripping lead guitar as he sings: "What do they know of the pain in your soul or the dreams that we once dreamed together... time flies by and the days are strange, but don't you cry for they will change, we'll make them change..."—John T. O'Connor
John T. O'Connor is a free-lance writer in Worcester, Mass.

BOOKS

Anti-red union builder

DAVID DUBINSKY: A Life with Labor

By David Dubinsky and A.H. Raskin
Simon & Schuster, New York

In this autobiography, David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers union for over 30 years, recounts the story of a White House dinner party during the Johnson years.

The party had continued so late into the night that Dubinsky missed the last plane back to New York. Humbly refusing Lady Bird's offer of a White House bed, he readied himself to go out and search for a hotel room. But at the front door he ran into Nelson Rockefeller, who offered Dubinsky a ride back to New York in one of his private planes. What would normally seem a strange situation—a union leader sharing the luxury of a private plane with capital incarnate, is quite the norm in Dubinsky's recounting of his life.

This remarkable book was put together by A.H. Raskin, former labor correspondent for the *New York Times* and now editor, from a series of taped conversations he had with Dubinsky between 1969 and 1972. *A Life with Labor* offers a wealth of information about the beginning years of the ILGWU and many clues to understanding the ofttime reactionary nature of American unions, which has so often frustrated the efforts of the left.

A revealing episode, which Dubinsky relates with pride, illustrates this point. In 1929, after a knock-down battle to rid the union of Communists, Dubinsky began the task of rebuilding what remained of the ILGWU. His first move was to call an old socialist comrade who now worked for the Industrial Council of Cloak and Suit Manufacturers, which represented the largest garment manufacturers, to arrange a meeting with their president, I. Grossman. At their meeting—held in a taxi circling New York's Central Park—Dubinsky told Grossman that he was going to call another strike.

Before the surprised Grossman could respond Dubinsky explained that this would be one in which no wage demands would be made. "We're weak and you're in trouble," Dubinsky said. "You need a union as much as the workers do. We're going to call a strike to rebuild this organization, and we're not going to ask for more money. All we ask is that you keep your shops closed and let us solidify our ranks." This would insure the manufacturers a "secure, clean union as a shield against Communists, crooks and industrial scavengers," and immunity from strikes during the life of their contract.

For his part, Dubinsky was gaining the support of the manufacturers in order to secure his position and insure a Dubinsky union. Three years later Dubinsky began his 34-year reign as both president and secretary of the ILGWU.

The reader will find other instances where the insurance of power within the union became the overriding goal of the leadership. Aligning manufacturers with himself, prohibiting the formation of a union of the union's staff, using union money for advertisements that benefited the industry—these are only samples of the ILGWU under Dubinsky. At the same time, perhaps paradoxically, Dubinsky's union pioneered many progressive measures and was a prime force in the movement for the minimum wage. For Dubinsky, union life was a cause—not a social cause, but rather an integral part of the system.

A favorite comment of his was that "unions need capitalism like a fish needs water." In repeated circumstances that belief allowed and justified the union insuring the well-being of the manufacturers at the expense of the union membership. Often, as Dubinsky's memoirs illustrate, the game of power within an organization not only shapes its role but becomes its *raison d'être*.

—James Morris
James Morris is a free-lance writer in New Mexico.

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BOOKS

Communists in the strikes of the 1920s

A RADICAL LIFE

By Vera Buch Weisbord
Indiana University Press, 1977,
\$15.00

Vera Buch Weisbord's *A Radical Life* is a valuable memoir for those who wish to know more about labor strife or Communist party activity in the 1920s. Those who want to know about working class women of that period and the circumscribed role of female activists may also glean some useful information.

But the general reader must be warned that while Weisbord maintains a critical stance in dealing with the factionalism endemic to the Communist party of the period, she is uncritical and self-serving when she describes her own and her husband's work for the party a self-indulgence that leads to a justification of factionalism when it is practiced by Albert Weisbord.

Weisbord's detailed accounts of the efforts to unionize the textile industry, her own part in organizing two major strikes in the 1920s form the heart of her narrative. The working conditions in the textile industry of the per-

iod were even worse than those the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union is trying to rectify today through its boycott of J.P. Stevens' products.

Wage cutting in the mills of Passaic, N.J., in January 1926 led to the first major strike led entirely by Communists. The chief party organizer at Passaic was Albert Weisbord, an ex-Harvard student. Vera Buch was sent to speak to the women textile workers, and the two fell in love.

Albert not only wished to be a Lenin, but also wanted to play the dominant role in the marriage. When she was offered a position as head of a new department of women's work in the Communist party, Albert pressured Vera to turn it down.

Vera complains of being restricted "to the traditional role of women, which was to be 'seen and not heard'." Although feeling herself treated like a child, both in the party and at home, Vera agreed with Albert that childcare would not mix with revolutionary activity, so when she became pregnant, she sought an

abortion.

This section of the book is a ghastly reminder of the horrors of illegal abortion. After her old female doctor and a party physician refused to perform the task, she finally found a callous, non-professional, quasi-medical abortionist to do it (without anesthesia). Albert refused to accompany her, and the experience was nightmarish.

In her work at Passaic, Vera had occasion to meet women who "...carried three jobs: millworker, houseworker, and mother. Often they worked in the mill up to the last day of a pregnancy. Inability to give proper care to their children was the great worry and sorrow of the younger women... Often the women preferred to work the night shift so they could give the family some care during the day. So much work with so little sleep would often result in illness for the mother, sometimes a complete nervous breakdown."

The lives of these working women became more difficult when the Passaic strike collapsed after it had dragged on for almost a

year. The bitter remains of the strike were handled by the AFL, since the Communist party opposed dual unionism until it switched that position to set up its own industrial union of textile workers, carrying on the militant I.W.W. tradition and foreshadowing the CIO battles of the '30s.

Sudden shifts in party policy were not unusual, for the party had splintered into numerous factions in the late '20s. Vital organizing work was hampered as various party leaders jockeyed for position against their rivals. Insufficient strike funds and sudden changes in strategy were disillusioning, and the strikers had to contend with opposition from the local press, local law enforcement harassment, hostile courts, and the violence of vigilantes.

All of these problems were evident in the crucial strike at the Loray Mills of Gastonia, North Carolina, in 1929. The memoirs of grass roots work reveal the dynamics and frustrations of striking before the passage of the Wagner Act and the advent of

the NLRB, as well as the difficulties of organizing in what was and still is the most anti-union part of the country.

This saga of Southern exploitation and injustice is one of the redeeming features of the book. But Weisbord's apologetics detract from her insight. The portrayal of the Weisbords as dedicated rank-and-file organizers who were aloof from party squabbles is unconvincing. In the 1930s, Albert Weisbord formed his own faction to provide the "correct political line," adding to the multiplication of self-proclaimed vanguard groups. This tendency towards ideological intransigence and unwillingness to unite is still the most crippling disease infecting the left. The Weisbords contributed to this tendency. Though *A Radical Life* is marred by this lack of self-criticism, the reader who wishes to know about women, labor setbacks or Communist party activity in the 1920s may find the book edifying.

—Joel Rosenblit
Joel Rosenblit is a graduate student at Rutgers University.

FILM

A murky meditation —on the wages of sin in our society

LOOKING FOR MR. GOODBAR

Written & Directed by Richard Brooks

With Diane Keaton, Tuesday Weld, Alan Feinstein, Richard Gere, Richard Kiley

What you think about Richard Brooks' *Looking for Mr. Goodbar* depends on whether you are located inside or outside the behavioral sink.

If you are thrashing about on the inside, you are likely to empathize with the sexual misadventures of Theresa Dunn (Diane Keaton).

If you are on the outside—viewing the film from the comfortable domesticity of, say, Grosse Pointe or White Plains—you are apt to tsk-tsk a lot and complain about the moral decline of the movies (if not about the moral decline of the West).

Brooks himself doesn't seem to know where he is located and spends much of the movie tacking back and forth between permissiveness and rectitude without ever making coherent sense out of contemporary patterns of social disintegration. It is largely this indecision, this ambiguity, that makes the film so irritating, so much less involving than it should be, given the horrifying nature of the subject.

Based on Judith Rossner's fictionalized account of the life of Roseann Quinn, a 28-year-old

New York school teacher who was murdered by a man she picked up in a singles bar, the film has a built-in morbidity/curiosity quotient.

Brooks ransacks the poor woman's life to see what went wrong—to find the combination of factors that would lead inexorably from bar to bed to dead.

It is in this little job of psycho-historical detective work that Brooks goes most seriously awry. All the film's other problems—its stridency, its frequent salaciousness—arise from Brooks' seeming inability to decide what he thinks of his material.

Brooks makes a half-hearted attempt to locate the origins of Terry's problems in the social world, but returns, finally, to the idea of personal responsibility. Brooks seems to believe in sin. Although he doesn't actually say so in so many words, we are allowed to infer that Terry is "bad." Brooks arrives at this judgment reluctantly and repeatedly shows us scenes of Terry in her classroom so that we realize what a loss it is.

Terry's sexual life is unrelentingly degrading. First with a self-involved professor (Alan Feinstein) and later with a sexy, repressive psychotic (Richard Gere). In between she is harassed by a moony social worker (William Atherton) who is, alas, lousy in bed.

The problem throughout is that Annie Hall's identity clings to Terry like gum to a shoe. Diane Keaton is so compulsively warm, so congenitally ingratiating that it is difficult to believe that she has any problems more complicated than terminal infidelity.

Cinematically, Brooks uses a disjointed film syntax that blends reality and fantasy and plunges much of the film into a murky haze. Much of the film looks as though it were filmed in the cloak room of a sleazy disco utilizing existing light. The singles bars Terry frequents are made to look about as appealing as dungeons, with perverts crawling out of the woodwork.

The end of the film is contrived and melodramatic and involves a strobe-light *ex machina* that is maneuvered into position earlier in the film with an embarrassing lack of finesse. Yet despite its manipulative and exploitive aspects, the ending provides a meditation on the direction this society seems to be taking. Sexual freedom may not lead to death (which Pauline Kael suggested is actually the moral of *Looking for Mr. Goodbar*) but it leads somewhere.

—Barry Brennan
Barry Brennan is the film reviewer for the *Santa Monica Evening Outlook* and reviews regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.



Diane Keaton as Theresa Dunn

The great tramp



We need to cure ourselves of expecting great artists to be great human beings. They seldom are. We should remember Chaplin, not for his weakness, but for his contributions to the good cause in the years when 99 percent of famous Americans passively or actively connived in their country's shame.

Probably many a genius is born in the wrong circumstances ever to be recognized, but two circumstances brought Charles Spencer Chaplin more fame in his own time than anyone in history. He was raised fatherless in a London slum, but his mother, a struggling "soubrette," imbued him with the lively arts of the music-hall. And his adolescence coincided with that of the motion picture, the visual magic that spoke to all the world simultaneously as no medium could before.

For this his particular genius was ready-made and, exported from Hollywood in cans, "Charlie" or "Charlot" became America's greatest success story. In the earth's most remote corners faces lit up at the name of the splay-footed tramp who turned tables on pompous cops. And thoughts turned affectionately to a land where an immigrant who invited it to laugh at itself, and who universalized the humanity of the downtrodden, was crowned with wealth.

On the "serious" side Hollywood long wallowed in mediocrity, but comedy was the silent screen's glory and Chaplin was its outstanding creator-interpreter. On my first journalistic sojourn to Hollywood—before the screen talked, a development he had reason to loathe—he was at the height of a justified fame that made him something of a prima donna as a person. He could indulge every whim and delighted in the yearnings of monarchs and celebrities to meet him. He could show modest generosity to people who had worked with him and fallen on bad times, but was not known for it in any broader sense. Yet he never quite forgot his poor Jewish origins and, as fascism accelerated its elitist-racist persecutions, certain attitudes and associations brought him to the attention of political inquisitors in Washington.

To the non-inquisitorial eye it was plain that politics belonged among his hobbies along with sex adventures and playing the organ. Not so for the House Un-American Activities Committee which began institutionalizing the inquisition in 1938. For HUAC his *Modern Times* satire on the de-humanization of people in the mass production of objects was more heretical than hilarious; and his pre-Pearl Harbor film *The Great Dictator*, ending with a declamation against the Hitler-Mussolini cancer, put him in the ranks of what would later be called "premature anti-fascists"—another word for "Communists." He recalled in his autobiography that at the time he knew nothing about "the horrors of German concentration camps," otherwise he couldn't have treated Nazism as a subject for fun. He was merely "determined to ridicule their mystic bilge about a pure-blooded race."

John Rankin from poll-tax, lynchproud Mississippi, most candid racist of the original HUAC, exposed him on the eve of World War II as a collector of "loathsome paintings" and "seducer of white girls." When our Soviet allies stood alone against Hitler, Chaplin recklessly addressed mass audiences as "comrades" in demanding an immediate second front in the west. FBI agents began haunting him, respectable friends turned away and the media quickly transformed him from hero to scoundrel.

Having narrowly escaped jail for "transporting a woman across state lines

for immoral purposes" under the preposterous Mann Act, he sealed his fate by co-sponsoring a rally for presidential peace candidate Henry Wallace in 1948. Patriots forced withdrawal of his *Monsieur Verdoux* by picketing theaters with signs, "Send Fellow Traveler Chaplin to Russia."

Leaving to present the film *Limelight* in London, he learned on shipboard that he would be summoned for investigation on his return "as a salutary lesson to the youth of our land." He decided to relieve the Attorney General of that duty, told the British press he was "an individualist, I believe in liberty," and was pointedly banqueted by Lords and Commons in London and Legion-of-Honored by France. His wife Oona flew back to rescue \$4,000,000 in securities from their safety-deposit box two days before the Treasury department filed a \$500,000 tax-arrears claim. She found the staff in their Beverly Hills home agitated by constant FBI visits seeking admissions of Chaplin's "communism" and "wild parties with naked women." The media zealously pursued the vendetta, and the American Legion campaigned to purge even 30-year-old Chaplin films from U.S. screens.

Oona Chaplin, daughter of playwright Eugene O'Neil, formally renounced U.S. citizenship and they retired to a Lake Geneva chateau, where VIPs of both Free and Curtained worlds came to pay respects, and Russia and China pleaded for Chaplin films at reduced rates.

"You forget," Chaplin told them, "you're dealing with a capitalist." Exactly: he was an individualist and capitalist—but so was the unfortunate Henry Wallace, pilloried and lampooned in 1948 as a "Stalinist tool."

In 1954 Chaplin accepted the World Peace Council award, moving the *New York Times* to comment: "He has allowed himself to be used by a sinister conspiracy... He shuffled off leftward to Moscow, [which] moves us to tears."

Shortly after my deportation for heresy in 1955, Chaplin invited me to interview him at the chateau and talked about the inquisition with humor, pathos and candor. "It's so boring," he said. "America is so terribly grim in spite of all that prosperity. They no longer know how to weep. Compassion and neighborliness have gone, people stand by and do nothing while friends are attacked, libeled and ruined. They're being taught to admire and emulate stoolpigeons, to betray and to hate, and all in a sickening atmosphere of religious hypocrisy." He added: "I wouldn't return there if Jesus Christ was President." Seventeen years later when Nixon was President he returned to accept without an admonitory word, the plaudits of those who had stomped on him.

A sad end to a marvelous life; but we need to cure ourselves of expecting great artists to be great human beings. They seldom are. I think we should remember Chaplin, the man, not for his weakness, but for his contributions to the good cause in the years when 99 percent of famous Americans passively or actively connived in their country's shame. He showed his political innocence by believing that, with all his prestige, he could get away with anything if only on grounds of eccentricity. He discovered that the mildest defense of the Constitution, in those years, was the sin beyond forgiveness.

—Cedric Belfrage